

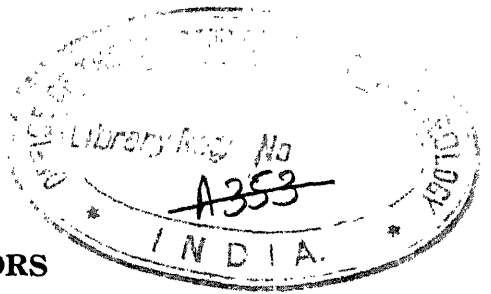
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THE BUDDHIST PHILOSOPHY OF THE REAL.

Introductory Remarks.

1. The *Kathāvatthu*, which has recently appeared in an English garb under the title of "*Points of Controversy*,"¹ is the first of the three² principal land-marks in the history of Buddhist Philosophy. It is, therefore, valuable as an historical document. But it is not without its philosophical value. Prof. Maung Tin in his able review of the work on pp. 112, 113 of the Burma Research Society, Journal, Vol. VI, Part II, attempted to briefly indicate where its real value lies. The present essay, which owes its inspiration to this third century B. C. work, is intended to develop the general philosophic interest.

2. To-day two figures stand out prominently in the philosophical arena like two ancient knights who disputed over a shield.

Henri Bergson, the French champion of the intuitive school of thought is in the forefront of modern philosophers. But the Hon. Bertrand Russell, the modern English exponent of the logico-analytic school, though comparatively the younger of the two, has already made a mark in the philosophical world especially by his criticism of Bergson.

The former is characterised by his depth of mind and the latter, by his breadth of view.

3. Bergson holds that the scope and province of philosophy is concrete, particular reality; while Russell views abstract, general truths as the object of philosophy. With this fundamental difference in their stand-points, they disagree as to means. The elder thinks that logic has no place in true philosophy; the younger regards it as an essential instrument of philosophy. With logic go language and concepts in its train.

The senior purifies instinct and extols intuition; the junior glorifies intellect and raises reason on a high pedestal. With intellect or reason go analysis, and science applied or formal or mathematical.

The former, rejecting current mechanistic and finalistic views of the universe, holds that the future is absolutely unforeseeable; the latter, believing in the universal law of causation or the uniformity of nature, considers the future to be predictable. With the former, relations expressed in a causal law are subjective; but with the latter, they are real.

Such are some of the leading differences of views between these two antagonists who appear to be irreconcilable.

4. Bergson is the target of much philosophical criticism, notably his mathematical and scientific data. But this being in the crucible of European fires does not affect the interestingness of the remarkable parallelism that exists between Bergsonism and Buddhism. It must not, however, be supposed that this parallelism precludes any idea of similar correspondence between Russell and Buddhism.

¹ Published by the Pali Text Society.

² The other two land-marks are *Milinda's Questions* and Buddhaghosa's *Vissuddhi-magga* or 'Pure Path' (—intuition).

In Buddhism both are at once compared and contrasted. The office of this ancient system, therefore, is to offer mediation to the two combatants in a most up-to-date fight of the modern times.

5. The subject of this paper resolves itself into two questions:—

I. What is the real?

II. How do we know it?

The first question need not detain us long beyond indicating the import of the term "real" as understood in Buddhism and the nature of that real.

The second question concerns itself with the theory of knowledge which we purpose to set out at length under the following heads:—

(a) Various kinds of knowledge;

(b) Our knowledge of the real;

The second head subdivides itself into:—

(i) How to know the real, i. e., how to attain intuition,—not Mansellian intuition which is stone-dead—by self-culture;

(ii) How to represent it by concept and how to communicate concept by language;

(iii) How to prove our knowledge by logic; and

(iv) How to explain general truths, arrived at through logic and expressed in laws, by analysis.

Sub-head (i) is concerned with the process of knowledge itself and the rest deal with the product of that knowledge.

PART I.—THE REAL.

The import of the term "Real."

6. From a brief discussion¹ of such terms as "parama," "saccika," etc., it will have been seen that the term "real," as understood by Buddhists, means something actually, verifiably *existing*,² and irreducible as well as irreversible.³ It is not that which has existed or will exist.⁴ It is neither reducible by analysis nor reversible by intellect.

The two aspects of the Real.

7. Reality understood in this sense is either conditioned (Saṅkhata) or unconditioned.

¹ *Pts. of Controy*, pp. 371—374.

² *Op. et loc. cit.* On the implications of the word 'exist,' see *op. cit.*, p. 85. The Bergsonian sentiment that 'to exist is to change, to change is to mature, to mature is to go on creating itself endlessly' (*Crea. Evol.*, p. 8) is no less Buddhistic as will be seen from a Buddhist dynamic conception of the real as well as from the theory of Kamma maturing itself into 'results,' Vipāka, lit. matured. Cf. also 'Reality can only be known during the moment it exists and it exists in the moment in which it is being experienced.' Carr's *Phil. of Change*, p. 29.

³ On irreducibility and irreversibility, see *Pts. of Controy*, *loc. cit.* Cf. "Anything that is irreducible and irreversible in the successive moments of a history eludes science. To get a notion of this irreducibility and irreversibility we must break with scientific habits...., we must do violence to the mind, go counter to the natural bent of the intellect. But this is just the function of philosophy." *Crea. Evol.*, p. 31.

⁴ "The intuition shows us what is, not what was, nor what will be" Carr's *Phil. of Change*, p. 29.

Unconditioned reality is Nibbāna which is absolute (Apaccaya) in the sense in which nothing else *causally relates* itself to it. It is eternal, lit., "out of time" (Kālavimutta) because, in the words of Ledi Sadaw, "It cannot be said: 'That was the Nibbāna in the time of a past Buddha; this is the Nibbāna in the time of the present Buddha; and such will be the Nibbāna in the time of a future Buddha.'" Conditioned reality, on the other hand, is made up of mind and matter² and includes sense-data of infallible knowledge.³ Unlike our stable, permanent concepts, or Platonic Ideas, this latter kind of reality is characterised by the two chief phenomenal events of growth and decay, birth and death, or genesis and dissolution,⁴ since it is relative (Sapaccaya) in the sense that it is *related to* causes. Hence conditioned reality partakes of the nature of the phenomenal. Those who are accustomed to opposing the real to the phenomenal may demur to this paradoxical statement.

By phenomenon I mean an occurrence or happening. In Buddhism there is an occurrence but not a *thing* which occurs. That is, we philosophically understand things in terms of state (bhāva-sādhāna) and not in terms of agency (kattu-sādhāna).⁵ We have change but not the changing thing, we have movement but not the moving thing.⁶ An external view of this happening is appearance, but received from within the happening is a reality. This will be clear from Part II when we deal with intuition. Conditioned reality differs from unconditioned reality in that it is limited and relative.⁷ Nevertheless, when it is penetrated, we get an absolute experience of it. Hence we say that mind and matter make up the conditioned reality in its ultimate sense (paramattha-dhamma).⁸

¹ Ledi's *Paramattha-dīpanī*, p. 330. Cf. 'And past, present and future shrink into a single moment, which is eternity.' *Crea. Evol.* p. 337.

² Cf. "And matter, the reality which descends, endures only by its connection with that which *ascends*. But life and consciousness are this very ascension.' *Crea. Evol.*, p. 390.

³ Cf. "It may be said . . . that it is the duty of the philosopher to call in question the admittedly fallible beliefs of daily life and to replace them by something more solid and irrefragable." p. 66, Russell's *Our Know. of the Ext. World*. Cf. also "Our own sense-data are primarily the facts of sense (*i.e. of our own*) sense-data and the laws of logic." *Op. cit.*, p. 72. N. B. Henceforward this work will be cited as *Lowell Lectures*, 1914.

⁴ Cf. *The Pts. of Controv.*, p. 55. See also pp. 374, 375, *op. cit.*, Cf. "If I consider my body in particular, I find that, like my consciousness, it matures little by little from infancy to old age; like myself it grows old." *Crea. Evol.*, p. 16. Cf. also "Matter or mind, reality has appeared to us as a perpetual becoming. It makes itself or it unmakes itself, but it is never something made." *Op. cit.*, p. 287.

⁵ See *Compd. of Phil.* pp. 2 and 7.

⁶ Cf. "There are changes, but there are not things that change; change does not need a support. There are movements, but there are not necessarily constant objects which are moved; movement does not imply something that is movable." Bergson's *La Perception de changement*. See Carr's *Phil. of Change*, p. 16.

⁷ Cf. "... in the one case (*i.e.* of an external view) our knowledge seems relative, relative to the position we occupy and the view we take, in the other (*i.e.* case of penetration into ourselves) it is absolute. It may be limited, but however narrow, momentary, fleeting, the vision be, we feel that it is not an external view of reality but an absolute experience of reality." Carr's *Phil. of Change*, p. 27.

⁸ Cf. "Our own life is for each of us our contact with reality, our hold upon it. If we can bring our life as it flows itself to consciousness it must be reality in its ultimate meaning that we know—limited no doubt but reality in itself, not an appearance of reality." *Op. Cit.*, p. 28.

Reality and Concepts contrasted.

8. Though Buddhism is capable of reconciling the scholastic doctrines of realism, conceptualism and nominalism,¹ the real is no less distinguished from the conceptual on the one hand than from the nominal on the other.²

Ledi writes on this distinction as follows:—

“There are two kinds of facts (Saccā's)—nominal (Sammuti) and real (Paramattha). Such concepts as ‘being,’ ‘person,’ ‘self,’ ‘living soul,’ etc., are, indeed, not knowable, i.e. not verifiable as *existing* things-in-themselves.³ But to the majority of mankind who are incapable of understanding things as they really are, they are very important and they appear, to their mind as though they were really existent. The commonfolk, by a sort of tacit convention, assuming their actual existence, name them, and they also accept or acknowledge them. These (concepts) may be described as nominal facts, partly because of the common consent, approval or sanction of the majority and partly because they form the basis of truthful speech and of right conduct. Taking their stand upon these nominal facts, men who conduct themselves well may acquire worldly prosperity and achieve the acquisition of such and such practical knowledge.⁴ But those who act against conventional ideas of truth and right suffer.⁵

“So much for the importance of nominal facts.

“But when we come to ultimately true facts, conventionally true ones no longer hold good. Though not existing in themselves, nominal facts mislead the average folk into thinking that they are existing. And they form the basis of the twenty soul theories and three principal heresies.⁶ Thus conventionally true facts do not permit the foolish to escape from misery. Hence they are reversible⁷ and faulty to that extent. Ultimately true facts are twofold—natural and Ariyan. Such facts as ‘moral thought,’ etc., described in the books of the Abhidhamma are naturally true. Because of their actual, verifiable existence *per se*, they do not lead astray any one who believes the truths of propositions like these: ‘Such and such a moral thought *exists*’; ‘Such and such a feeling of pleasure *exists*.’

“But when we come to deal with Ariyan facts, some of these propositions cannot be said to be quite true. For example, feeling was relatively spoken of by the Buddha as pleasurable, painful and neutral; and this by a reference to the mere difference in the degree of experiencing, but not because there is such a positive feeling as absolute pleasure. The fact is that all kinds of feeling under all manner of circumstances of universal flux and causation, etc., are just pain, pure and simple, i.e., DUKKHA proper.⁸

¹ *Compend.* p. 223.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 6.

³ *Sabbhāvato avijjamānā yeva.* Cf. “I think, it may be laid down quite generally that, in so far as physics or common sense is verifiable, it must be capable of interpretation in terms of actual sense-data alone.” *Lowell Lectures*, 1914, p. 81.

⁴ The idea is that conventional truths are sufficient for all practical purposes. Cf. “It is, therefore, natural and legitimate in daily life to proceed by the juxtaposition and portioning out of concepts; no philosophical difficulty will arise from this procedure, since by a tacit agreement, we shall abstain from philosophising” *Berg. Intro. to Metaph.* p. 36. Also cf. “... a practical knowledge aimed at the profit to be drawn from them.” *Op. cit.* p. 37.

⁵ Lit. fill the purgatory.

⁶ See p. 118, Ledi, *J. P. T. S.*, 1913-14.

⁷ On the reversibility of our conventional ideas, cf. “The mind has to do violence to itself, has to reverse the direction of the operation by which it habitually thinks, has perpetually to revise, or rather to recast, all its categories . . . To philosophise therefore, is, to invert the habitual direction of thought” *Intro. to Metaph.*, p. 59.

⁸ Here we are dealing with the psychology of feeling under philosophical, and not ethical, aspect. That Buddhism is not altogether pessimistic may be seen in *Pts. of Controv.*, pp. 127-129.

"Similarly, morality, so-called because it yields unfaulty, happy results, was spoken of relatively with reference to immorality. True, all the three-planed things are simply faulty inasmuch as they are bound up with 'intoxicants,' are liable to 'corruptions' and capable of developing 'floods,' 'bonds,' and 'graspings.' Moreover, they are truly fruitful of ills in that they are productive of results which constitute the Fact of Ill (Dukkha-sacca).

"Again, the couplet¹ of 'internal' (i. e. personal) was also spoken of with reference to the common sense of mankind. The fact is that all the four-planed things are truly no selves. Where can you get the distinction of internal or personal? All are equally external.² Yes, it may be remembered that the Buddha said; 'One sees conditioned things as external (parato).' Thus all couplets and triplets in our doctrine are to be similarly understood in the relative sense.

"Ariyan facts may be understood as follows:—

- (a) The three-planed things constitute the Ariyan Fact of True Ill;
- (b) Craving constitutes the Ariyan Fact of its True Cause;
- (c) Nibbāna alone constitutes the Ariyan Fact of its True Cessation; and
- (d) Intuition, with eight factors, constitutes the Ariyan Fact of True Path to Nibbāna.

"These alone are unshakeable, universally perfect and absolutely true facts in the understanding of pure Ariyans."³

9. Concepts are mental creations or logical constructions.⁴ But the real transcends⁵ them. In his philosophy of Relations, at p. 25 of the P. T. S. Journal of 1915-16, Ledi emphasises the changeability⁶ of the real

¹ Cf. "Concepts . . . generally go together in couples and represent two contraries. There is hardly any concrete reality which cannot be observed from two opposing stand-points, which cannot be consequently subsumed under two antagonistic concepts. Hence a thesis and an antithesis." *Intro. to Metaph.* p. 34.

² Cf. There is a reality that is external and yet immediately given to the mind. *Op. cit.* p. 55. In Buddhism the bare conscious subject, which is ordinarily spoken of as self, is not conscious of itself (p. 180, *Pts. of Controv.*), because in the Bergsonian phraseology, our intellect always "turns to the rear" (*Crea. Evol.* p. 49) and "looks behind." On the impossibility of self-consciousness, see Part II *infra.* Cf. "... ; but I think, however self may be defined, even when it is taken as the bare subject, it cannot be supposed to be a part of the immediate object of sense;" *Lowell Lectures*, 1914, p. 74.

³ Pp. 114-16, Ledi's *Paramattha-dīpanī*, fully rendered. I have quoted it at length partly because this proud rival of *Tikagayaw* has not been edited, and translated, and published in European languages, but chiefly because I have preferred that the learned Doctor should speak in his own orthodox way so that I may not be suspected of reading Bergsonism into Buddhism. Cf. also Ledi, pp. 124-130 *J. P. T. S.*, 1913-14.

In the expression "Ariyan fact" we have not used the word "fact" in the Russellian sense of a certain thing *having* a certain quality or relation (P. 51, *Lowell Lectures*, 1914) but in the Buddhist sense of something *existing*.

When Buddhists say: "This is ill," both terms in this atomic proposition of Russell. (*Op. cit.* p. 53) refer to a single fact which exists. The Pubbāsaliya sect drew a distinction between this objective concrete fact and the subjective abstract fact of an object *possessing* its own characteristics. The former corresponds to reality and the latter, to truth, or Russell's atomic fact. But they confused the word "fact" between the two senses. On Atomic propositions, see Part II, *infra.*

⁴ *Pts. of Controv.*, p. 373. Cf. "All the aspects of a thing are real, whereas the "thing" is a mere logical construction." P. 89, *Low. Lec.*, 1914.

⁵ *Pts. of Controv.*, *loc. cit.* Cf. "Either metaphysic is this play of ideas, or else, if it is a serious occupation of the mind, if it is a science and not simply an exercise, it must transcend concepts in order to reach intuition. Certainly, concepts are necessary to it. . . . But it is only true to itself when it goes beyond the concept," *Intro. to Metaph.*, p. 18. Cf. By way of reality, leaving concepts, . . . (*Sammutim thapetvā*). *Tikagayaw*.

⁶ Cf. " . . . the real, the experienced, and the concrete are recognised by the fact that they are variability itself " *Intro. to Metaph.*, p. 41.

as the very essence of the distinction between unstable realities and stable concepts.¹

Contrasting mobile realities with stable concepts the learned Doctor writes:—

"They (i. e. the realities) come to be and cease from moment to moment. Now there is no 'entity' or 'person' (which are concepts) who in one life comes to be and passes away from moment to moment. . . . But the aggregates which are ultimate phenomena come to be and pass away from moment to moment even in a single day. They do not persist *pari passu* with the individual spell of life."²

The fluid real that makes up the person of a being changes every moment, though our rigid concept of that being lasts his whole lifetime.³

The Nature of the Real.

10. The real then changes without ceasing. This Buddhist dynamic conception of the real finds an expression in a universal proposition. All things in the making are changing (*Sabbe-saṅkhārā aniccā*).⁴ The static is conceptual; the movement or motion or mobility is real.

Buddhists compare life to the ceaseless flow of a river⁵ or to the continuous burning of a flame. They hold that for no two consecutive moments is the reality the same under the ceaseless flux of things.⁶ Rest is but an unperceived motion.⁷

¹ Cf. "The various concepts into which a change can be analysed are therefore so many stable views of the instability of the real." *Op. cit.*, p. 46. Also cf. "And the element is invariable by definition, being a diagram, simplified reconstruction, often a mere symbol, in any case a motionless view of the moving reality." *Op. cit.*, p. 41. If we substitute "concept" for "element" in the passage quoted, we get our Buddhist view.

² P. 128, Ledi, *J. P. T. S.*, 1913-14. Cf. "Accepting the indubitable momentary reality of objects of sense, . . . " *Low. Lec.*, p. 86. Cf. ". . . Reality appears as a ceaseless upspringing of something new, which has no sooner arisen to make the present than it has already fallen back to the past; . . . " *Crea. Evol.*, p. 49.

³ Cf. "Therefore life appears to intellectual apprehension as an extension, as a succession of states. In intuition we see the reality as fluid, as unfixed, before it is congealed into concepts, before even it is perceived as in time and space." Carr's *Phil. of Change*, p. 27.

⁴ Cf. "This reality is mobility. Not things made, but things in the making, not self-maintaining states but only changing states, exist. . . . All reality is therefore tendency, if we agree to mean by tendency an incipient change of direction." *Intro. to Metaph.*, p. 55, 56.

⁵ *Compend.* pp. 8, 9, 12. Cf. the Buddhist "stream of Being" with Bergson's "current of life" in the following passage—"At a certain moment, in certain parts of space, a visible current has taken rise; this current of life, traversing the bodies it has organised one after another, passing from generation to generation, has become divided amongst species and distributed amongst individuals without losing anything of its force, rather intensifying in proportion to its advance." *Crea. Evol.*, p. 27. Cf. also ". . . life is like a current passing from germ to germ through the medium of a developed organism." *Op. cit.*, p. 28. Cf. further "On flows the current, running through human generations, subdividing itself into individuals. . . . Thus souls are continually being created, . . . They are nothing else than the little rills into which the great river of life divides itself, flowing through the body of humanity." *Op. cit.*, p. 284. Does not Bergson here rise to a generality of the great river of life from the little rills which he actually finds?

⁶ Cf. "There is . . . a continual flux which is not comparable to any flux I have ever seen." *Intro. to Metaph.*, p. 9. Cf. also "Now, there are no two identical moments in the life of the same conscious being." *Op. cit.*, p. 10.

⁷ Cf. "Rest is never more than apparent or, rather relative." *Op. cit.*, p. 55. Also cf. "It is movement that we must accustom ourselves to look upon as simplest and clearest, immobility being the only extreme limit of the slowing down of movement, a limit reached only, perhaps, in thought and never realised in nature." *Op. cit.*, p. 44. Also cf. "Movement is the reality itself, and what we call rest (*immobilité*) is a certain state of things identical with or analogous to that which is produced when two trains are moving

Ledi sums up:—¹

"The many thousand modes or ways of action which appear in our subjective continua and in the external world² continua . . . are shown to be variously determined. This is true, whether the determinations are new as now manifesting themselves or whether they are old as being vanished experiences. Just as that flowing river or burning flame appears to those who contemplate it as a mode of *motion*, not as static, and the motion itself consists in a continuous process of vanishing past acts and of manifested fresh acts, so all these determinations into various 'acts' are only series of distinct phenomena. . . . made manifest by way of arising and ceasing. And whenever the various modes of cognition . . . are produced as freshly emerging acts, through such and such a causal relation³, they arise, all of them, as something which had not previously arisen."

Reality and Time.

II. Thus the very essence of reality is its mutability.⁴ But its change is ever obscured by our concept of continuity (*Santati-paññatti*) which fosters our hallucination⁵ of perception, ideas and views regarding the real and its impermanence. And it is because of this illusion that our mind 'takes the stable views of the instability' and that our intellect 'starts with the immobility of the moving.'⁶ From the continuity of change, from the perpetual becoming, men have extracted a general notion of eternity of Time,⁷ with the distinctions of past, present and future, but without any objective existence.⁸ Of these three time distinctions the real, from its very nature and from our definition of it, is necessarily confined to the ever present,⁹ because the past thing, though real while it lasted, has gone, gone utterly away, passed away for ever and beyond recall¹⁰ as it was, and the future has not appeared, arisen, become or been born.

with the same velocity in the same direction on parallel rails; each train appears then to be stationary to the travellers seated in the others." Bergson's *la Perception de Change-ment*. See Carr's *Phil. of Change*, p. 16. I gave this railway illustration to a European gentleman who questioned from England the following passage on p. 11 of the *Compd. of Phil.* "But in the Buddhist view, both the subject and the object are alike transitory, the relation alone between the two impermanent correlates remaining constant."

¹ Pp. 159, 160, Ledi, *J. P. T. S.*, 1913-1914.

² Cf. "Making a clean sweep of everything that is only an imaginative symbol (or a concept, as we Buddhists would say), he will see the material world melt, back into a simple flux, a continuity of flowing, a becoming." *Crea. Evol.*, p. 390.

³ Cf. "Thus a thing may be defined as a certain series of appearances connected with each other by continuity and by causal laws." P. 106, *Low. Lec.* 1914.

⁴ *Pts. of Controy.*, pp. 108-110.

⁵ *Compend.*, p. 216. See also Part II *infra*. Cf. "The fundamental principle of this philosophy is that reality is movement and not something that moves, movement in the meaning of change. The something that moves is an illusion engendered by the intellectual apprehension of the movement." Carr's *Phil. of Change*, p. 176.

⁶ See n. 7, p. 6, *supra*.

⁷ On the Buddhist idea of time, See p. 392, *Pts. of Contr.*

⁸ Cf. "I have on the other hand extracted from it (i.e., perpetual becoming) Becoming in general, i.e., a becoming which is not the becoming of any particular thing and this is what I have called the *time* the state occupies." *Intro. to Mataph.*, p. 39.

⁹ Cf. "Thus an aspect of a 'thing' is a member of the system of aspects which is the 'thing' at that moment." P; 89, *Low. Lec.*, 1914. In *Milinda* p. 77, as in Bergson, things in the making at the present moment, not things made in the past, are spoken of as time that exists.

¹⁰ Cf. "The past is over and done; it is past, not present, it was." Carr's *Phil. of Change*, p. 157.

Cf. also. "In the very fact that it endures, the past which it carries is being added to so that no moment can merely repeat a past moment." *Op. cit.*, p. 160.

Mind.

12. There is no reality that comes and goes so quickly as mind.¹ There is a continuous movement² of mind. But for purposes of explanation Buddhists break up this continuity by dividing the track or *Vīthi* left behind into moments and consider mind at each moment. Each momentary conscious state is logically complex but psychologically simple.³ But Buddhists philosophically analyse this inseparable union of a simple indivisible whole into constituent factors and distinguish psychological ultimates or elements as absolutely distinct realities. To an observer from without this continuous flow of mind appears as an orderly succession⁴ of these states due to the uniformity of mental sequence. Ledi compares consciousness to pure water and its components to colouring matters. Each conscious state assumes a different tint according as it is composed of this or that combination of mental properties. Now this water of consciousness is flowing and so we get a moving spectrum of the reality itself instead of a fixed, myriad-tinted spectral back-ground across which Bergson makes the mind move.⁵ Each state shades off into another imperceptibly in this continuously progressive spectrum⁶ of mind, so that it is difficult to discern where one ends and another begins.⁷

There is what Bergson calls creative evolution⁸ in the progress of these states, there being no external agent, human or divine, who says: 'Let *a* come first, *b* next, *c* then'⁹ and so forth. Each preceding state, so to speak

¹ *Pts. of Controv.*, p. 125.

² Cf. "But we are also a continuity of the past moving into the future, this is our mind which endures." Carr's *Phil. of Change.*, p. 86. "...in immediate experience we have a continuity which changes continually and as a whole from moment to moment." *Op. cit.* p. 136. "We can comprehend life before attention to action breaks its continuity, know it not as a succession of states but as the continuous movement or becoming that we name change." *Op. cit.* p. 34.

³ Cf. "But in philosophical analysis the elements we distinguish may have no separate existence, they may be absolutely distinct as realities but exist only in their union." Carr's *Phil. of Change*, p. 184.

⁴ "But each of the separate states is the singling out of illuminating of a point in the fluid mass of our whole physical life. This life is not a congeries of separate states or a succession of events but a continuously moving zone of activity. The whole of our past is present in this zone but not as past, it is manifest in its entirety as an impulse or push, as a tendency, . . ." Carr's *Phil. of Change*, p. 34.

⁵ Cf. "A current of feeling which passed along the spectrum, assuming in turn the tint of each of its shades, would experience a series of gradual changes, each of which would announce the one to follow and would sum up those which preceded it." *Intro. to Metaph.*, p. 11. Cf. also "Sensations, feelings, volitions, ideas such are the changes into which my existence is divided and which colour it in turns." *Crea. Evol.*, p. 1.

⁶ *Pts. of Controv.*, p. 393.

⁷ *Op. et loc. cit.* The Buddha explained the succession of states by the relation of "contiguity" (*Anantara*). But he again described the same relation by the intensive "immediate contiguity" (*Samanantara*) in order to emphasise the fact that this succession is a procession in which one state runs into another, so that the procession may not be mistaken for mere juxta-position.

⁸ Cf. "... each of our states, at the moment of its issue, modifies our personality, being indeed the new form that we are just assuming. It is then right to say that what we do depends on what we are; but it is necessary to add also that we are to a certain extent what we do, and that we are creating ourselves continually." *Crea. Evol.*, p. 7. Cf. *Dhammapada*, Verse 1.

⁹ P. 30, Vol. II, Saya Pye's combined Ed. of *Tikagyaw and manisaramañjusa*.

announces¹ its immediate successor which in turn inherits the memory² of the past. The past is wrought up into the present as a new, indivisible whole.³ But each advancing state is real only while it lasts.⁴

Matter and Space.

13. Matter, as in Berkeley, is a group of qualities which, though logically distinct, are mutually inseparable⁵ from one another (Avinibhoga) in a simple, indivisible unit.

Now space is to matter what time is to mind. Mansel regards it as a permanent condition of our mind by which we perceive the external object. Buddhists add that it is a permanent concept⁶ which is a sufficing condition for the movement of bodies.⁷ It is empty or void without objective reality and is not perceivable.⁸

¹ Ācikkhati viya. Cf. "There is a succession of these states each of which announces that which follows and contains that which precedes it." *Intro. to Metaph.*, p. 9.

² *Compend.*, p. 42. For greater details, see Ledi's Philosophy of Relations *J. P. T. S.* 1915-16. Cf. "Take the simplest sensation, suppose it constant, absorb in it the entire personality, the consciousness which will accompany this sensation cannot remain identical with itself for two consecutive moments, because the second moment always contains over and above the first, the memory that the first has bequeathed to it." *Intro. to Metaph.*, pp. 10, 11.

³ Cf. "Duration is the continuous progress of the past which gnaws into the future and which swells as it advances." *Crea. Evol.*, p. 5. Cf. also "... a duration in which the past, always moving on, is swelling unceasingly with a present that is absolutely new." *Op. cit.*, p. 210. Cf. the following passage with the doctrine of Karma—"What are we, in fact what is our character, if not the condensation of the history that we have lived from our birthday, even before our birth, since we bring with us pre-natal dispositions?" *Op. Cit.*, p. 5. Cf. "It is the continuation of an indefinite past in a living present." Carr's *Phil. of Change*, p. 154. Again on p. 157, *Op. cit.*, "It (i.e. life) is psychological in its nature, i.e. it is a time existence, something that endures and changes continually, endures by changing in that it carries with it all its past in its present activity," and "But the meaning of duration is that the past though acted and over is continued into and carried along in the present." Cf. the Buddhist idea that "we are all that we have thought" with "What we are is all that we have been." *Op. cit.* p. 178. On indivisibility, cf. "There are no parts which have any separate existence as parts. We know the parts by dissociation within an indivisible whole." *Op. cit.* p. 159.

⁴ Cf. "They can, properly speaking, only be said to form multiple states which I have already passed and turned back to observe their track. Whilst I was experiencing them, they were so solidly organised, so profoundly animated with the common life, that I could not have said, where any one of them have finished or where another commenced. In reality no one of them begins or ends, but all extend into each other.....our past follows us, it swells incessantly with the present that it picks up on its way;...." *Intro. to Metaph.*, p. 10. Cf. the last sentence in the passage quoted with p. 12. *Compend.*

⁵ *Compend.* p. 160.

⁶ "Kant's doctrine was that space and time are forms of perception. Our doctrine is that they are schematic or diagrammatic in their nature, not qualifying or characterising reality, but an artifice or device by which reality is apprehended." Carr's *Phil. of Change*, p. 133.

⁷ *Pts. of Controy.*, p. 192. Cf. Ledi on space as a sufficing condition (Upanissaya-paccaya) of movement in *J. P. T. S.* 1915-16.

⁸ *Pts. of Controy.*, p. 193. Cf. "Again, the positions of the moving body are not parts of the movement, they are points of the space which is supposed to underlie the movement. This empty and immobile space which is merely conceived, never perceived, has the value of a symbol only." *Intro. to Metaph.*, p. 44. Also cf. "What stationary points are to the movement of a moving body, concepts of different qualities are to the quantitative change of an object." *Op. cit.* p. 46.

Matter is comparatively inert, but it changes in time¹ even when it does not appear to move in space. It gives up its materiality when it gives up its presence and *vice versa* in the same way as mind gives up both mentality and presence at the same time.² This amounts to saying that mind or matter was real only while it lasted. This simple fact, however, is overlooked when we speak of our personality as real by means of stable concepts.

Our Personality.

14. Ledi compares animated or sentient organism to a moving mirror in which objects are reflected according to its position and the incidence of light, from moment to moment throughout its progress in the world.³ Thus our personality is ever changing and ever renewed. E. g., We punish a thief. Assuming that the right person is punished, it is conventionally true to say that the thief is punished, because the prisoner is but a term in the continuous series of—a link in the chain of—personalities A, A₁, A₂, A₃, of that thief. But philosophically speaking, the prisoner cannot be said to be the thief; for, no person is identical at any two consecutive moments in his life history.⁴ There is progression but no repetition in Nature. There is similarity but no logical identity in true philosophy.⁵ My present self is neither quite the same as, nor altogether different from myself a while ago. This is an important point to bear in mind in Buddhist philosophy.

Concluding Remarks.

15. If I have crowded Part I of this essay into a few pages, it is because it will be clear from Part II that the real, from its nature briefly indicated herein, is *lived* rather than *thoguht*.⁶ It is experienced, revealed or realised and is, strictly speaking, inexpressible and incommunicable by language. Hence the less said about the reality, the better. If, on the other hand, I have overloaded these few pages with footnotes, it is because I feel

¹ Cf. "In the smallest discernible fraction of a second, in the almost instantaneous perception of a sensible quality, there may be trillions of oscillations which repeat themselves. The permanence of a sensible quality consists in this repetition of movements,..." *Crea. Evol.*, p. 317. Cf. this passage with *Compnd.*, p. 26. Cf. also "In short, the qualities of matter are so many stable views that we take of its instability.But in reality, the body is changing form at every moment;....and form is only a snapshot view of a transition." *Crea. Evol.*, pp. 318, 319.

² *Pts. of Controy.*, pp. 67, 393. Cf. "The first (i. e. intuition) gets at definite object immediately, in the materiality itself." *Crea. Evol.*, p. 157.

³ P. 120, Ledi, *J. P. T. S.*, 1913-14.

⁴ Cf. "From this survival of the past, it follows that consciousness cannot go through the same state twice. The circumstances may still be the same, they will act no longer on the same person, since they find him at a new moment of his history. Our personality which is built up at each instant with its accumulated experience, changes without ceasing. By changing it prevents any state, although superficially identical with another, from ever repeating it in its very depth." *Crea. Evol.*, p. 6. According to Buddhism, circumstances, too, cannot remain the same, though they may be similar. Cf. p. 63, Vol. I, *Milinda*.

⁵ Mrs. Rhys. Davids *Buddhism*, p. 131. Cf. "...; in psychical causality the identity is change itself, the reality is duration and not something which endures without changing." Carr's *Phil. of Change*, p. 209.

⁶ Cf. "We do not *think* real time. But we *live* it because life transcends intellect." *Crea. Evol.*, p. 49. Cf. "If we fix the whole attention of mind on this life of ours as we live it, if we realise to ourselves our life as it is being lived, we get an intuition of reality, that is to say not a thought of it, not a perception or conception of it as an object, but a consciousness of the actual life we are living as we live it." Carr's *Phil. of Change*, p. 27.

strongly that Bergson is a modern commentary of Buddhism. My difficulty has been the selection of passages, some of which are repeated in different forms and some of which may be quoted in more than one place. But whether quoted in or out of place, the passages themselves show to my mind that there is a good deal of Buddhism in Bergson without the savant himself being aware of it.

Enough has, however, been said to show that the Buddhist idea of the real is identical with the Bergsonian view of it. But they who fail to *penetrate* this reality 'only see a continuous and static condition'¹ in it.

In Part II I shall show that, of the various kinds of knowledge to be described, penetrative knowledge (*Pativedha-ñāṇa*) is identical with Bergsonian intuition. After indicating the Buddhist method of culture (*Bhāvanā*) how to attain intuition, I shall show why both concept and language, though inadequate in themselves to represent or express the reality intuited, are indispensable; how Buddhist logic, which is identical with Russell's modern logic, is still essential for arriving at abstract, general truths—subjective counterparts of objective realities, which are concrete and particular; and how analysis, especially of general relations embodied in causal laws, as distinguished from particular relations which are real, is useful in philosophy. I shall further show that the future predicated under the uniformity of nature is morally, but not absolutely, certain. Thus when the Buddhist shield of reconciliation between the two opposing modern thinkers is finally presented, then may readers judge for themselves whether the peaceful triumphs of Buddhism still suggest the brandishing of the intellectual swords in the age of Parmenides, as observed by a critic of the *Compendium* in this Journal.²

SHWE ZAN AUNG.

¹ P. 155, Ledi, *J. P. T. S.*, 1913-14. Cf. "... the state taken in itself is a perpetual becoming. I have extracted from this becoming a certain average of quality which I have supposed invariable; I have in this way constituted a stable and consequently schematic state." *Intro. to Metaph.*, p. 39.

² Vol. I, Pt. II.

EXCAVATION AND EXPLORATION IN PEGU.

INTRODUCTION:—I was on duty in the Pegu district for archaeological exploration and research during the months of November and December, 1913, and the greater part of January, 1914, with a short break in December when I had to attend a Settlement conference in Bassein. Mr. C. Duroiselle, Officiating Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, placed the sum of Rs. 700|- at my disposal. With this amount I was able to engage a Talaing clerk to assist me in dealing with the inscriptions, which it was hoped to find, and also to employ a few Burman labourers for excavation. It was thought better to employ Burmans rather than the slightly cheaper Indians, not only because they would be easier to handle, but because the spectacle of Indians digging in or near their sacred buildings would probably be displeasing to the inhabitants of Pegu. Excavation was practically confined to Pegu and its neighbourhood. Enquiries regarding objects of antiquarian interest extended over a wider area. In addition to the older villages adjoining Pegu, the Tawa-Pale ridge, and the villages of Waw and Payagyi, the villages in Thaton and Bassein were visited by me personally or by emissaries. The results obtained may be briefly stated as follows:—The discovery of thirteen new inscriptions of minor historical and linguistic importance, the acquisition for Government of a few Talaing manuscripts and the unearthing from ruined pagodas and elsewhere of various articles connected with Buddhist and non-Buddhist worship, some of which will probably prove to be of considerable interest. The inscriptions have been deciphered, translated and annotated to the best of my ability. The present note will discuss more particularly the objects other than inscriptions found, and will attempt to place them in their historical setting.

ABSENCE OF DETAILED ACCOUNT:—The history of Pegu, like the history of Burma in general, is prior to the beginning of the 11th century A. D., a sketch in outline only, with no detail. From the 11th century onwards, we have the Hmannan Yazawin and other Burmese annals containing references to Pegu, and, for the period beginning with the second dynasty with King Wareru in 1287 A. D., the Talaing histories recently printed in Siam are adequate and valuable documents. But of the foundation of Pegu in 825 A. D.—to take the most modest date as given in the Shwemawdaw *thamaing*—and of the kings who reigned there almost without interruption for over two hundred years, neither the *thamaing* nor any other Talaing chronicle hitherto discovered gives, at all, a satisfactory account. It was my hope to be able to throw some light on this obscure period of Pegu history that led me, while making general enquiries over a wider field, to confine my excavations almost entirely to the old town east of the fort within which the Courts etc., are placed, which is traditionally associated with the first dynasty.

THE SITE OF THE OLD TOWN OF PEGU:—That tradition is correct in this regard, there can be little doubt. The following paragraphs are extracted from the Historical Chapters of the Pegu Gazetteer, now in the Press:

“Before proceeding to trace the expansion of the kingdom under Razadarit, it may be of interest to determine the exact site of the new capital.

The *thamaing* says (page 79) that Tissa Rājā built the Thinbaw paya to enshrine the relics brought by sea from India (Nga Dula, a ship's captain, had seen that the people of Burma set great store by objects, which were so little valued in India as to be playthings of children, and brought over a consignment of relics from a dilapidated pagoda on the banks of the Ganges). The *Thamaing* quotes authority to prove that this Thinbaw paya was near the Dangawdon gate and argues that it is to be identified with an ancient pagoda near Shweban—a village on the Toungoo road north-east of Pegu on the eastern edge of the high land. The whole of the country round Shweban is covered with pagodas, but none of them is now known as Thinbaw paya. The name Shweban itself, however, is obviously a corruption of Kyaikpang, the pagoda of the ship. The Dangawdon gate, therefore, was near Shweban. It was probably the gate leading to the harbour.

“Now the name ‘Dangawdon gate’ occurs in a passage of the Paklat history (pages 178-179) referring to the reign of Binya U, from which it would appear that the new dynasty took possession of the old town. It is, perhaps, unnecessary to labour this point as it is quite clear that neither Binya U nor any of his predecessors would have had sufficient leisure or sufficient authority to build for themselves a new town. The passage, however, is otherwise interesting. Binya Nwe (Noa, later, Razadarit) plotted to wrest the kingdom from his father. In order to decide from which part of the country to make his attack, he visited each of the gates of Pegu town in turn and listened for omens. The gates were visited in the following order: Muh-Krug, Muhtao, Tsatahlih, Dangawdung, Meloā, P'yanon. Now the two first, Muh Krug and Muhtao, must be gates in the western wall facing the high land leading to two ridges known as the Muh Krug (mango ridge) and Muhtao (Shwemawdaw ridge). The arrangement of the gates was probably as follows:—North, Tsatahlih; East, Dangawdung and Meloā; South, P'ya Non; West, Muh Krug and Muhtao. The Dangawdung or Dangawdon gate would thus lie nearest to Shweban village as in Ponnarika's time, showing that the old town continued to be occupied. It is true that the *Thamaing* (page 90) says that Binya U cut and cleared the site of the fort of Hantawaddy and built a new palace and a new fort, but it is doubtful if this amounts to more than jungle clearing and repairs to the walls—a new palace and other buildings would, of course, be necessary. Razadarit, on his accession, appears to have made extensive improvements to the fortification. The old town continued to be occupied by Razadarit's successors till about the middle of the 15th century A. D. It was probably at this period that the large number of excellently built square cement wells were constructed. Some are still in use.

“Shin Sawbu (Binnye T'ao), whose dates are variously given as 815 to 822, and 825 to 832, spent the greater part of her short reign in Rangoon where she built a town west of the Shwedagon pagoda (Paklat history page 433). But she seems clearly to have intended abandoning the old town of Pegu and building a new town further west so as to include the Shwemawdaw pagoda. The following passage from the *Thamaing*, page 155—too naïve to be untrue—is well worth study: ‘At that time, there was yet no

fort surrounding the Shwemawdaw pagoda. There was only open land. In addition to the land dedicated by Thamantaraza Min, Shin Sawbu made further offerings of land. When she heard of the ancient prophecy contained in the writings of Gavampati and others that, in future, a great town should spring up surrounding the Shwemawdaw pagoda, she greatly rejoiced. And in order that future kings should not encroach on sacred land, she had all pagoda, monastic and other religious land, carefully demarcated with stone pillars.' Thus there was already an intention of moving the town, which was carried out by Shin Sawbu's successor, Dhammacheti. But what is striking in the above passage is the reason given for the project. It would appear that Shin Sawbu had only just heard of the prophecy that Hanthawaddy should be the capital of a great kingdom.

"Of Dhammacheti, a Talaing manuscript history says: 'outside of the town, west of the slopes of the Shwemawdaw, he founded a town. He built a temporary palace, stables for elephants and horses and ruled there.' The Paklat history (page 43) gives much the same account. The *Thamaing* (page 119) contributes the information that the wall of his town was of logs only. There is no record that either of Dhammacheti's successors did anything towards the foundation of a permanent town. Up to 1540, therefore, there was no town or fort in Pegu, except the ancient one east of the Hintha ridge and west of Kamanat village, through which the Thanatpin road now passes."

The above account will show that the old fort has not been inhabited by royalty with the exception of a brief period in the beginning of the second dynasty, since the conquest by Anawrata in 1057 A. D. It affords no mounds or other favourable sites for the erection of religious buildings, and, for this or other reasons, has been studiously ignored by the pagoda-builders of later times. Nor is there any reason to think that there were ever villages or other human habitations in it, till a comparatively recent date, when a few houses sprang up near the Thanatpin road. Only a small part of it is cultivable. On the whole, we may take it that the fort is in much the same condition as it was in the middle of the 11th century, except for the effects of weather and the depredations of treasure-seekers. We cannot be so certain of the antiquity of any ruins outside—even immediately outside the walls—because of the innumerable monuments of various kinds, which jostle each other in the upland country around Pegu. While some may be very old, the great majority must be referred to the 14th and 15th centuries, the most flourishing period of Pegu history when, under the example of the King, the people vied with one another in honouring the religion.

THE SITE OF THE PALACE. This lies in thick jungle of thorny bamboo, some distance north of the Thanatpin road. It is a low mound some three feet in height, and measuring about 120 feet from the east to west, and fifty feet from north to south. The mound had been very thoroughly dug into by treasure-seekers, who are said to have found rubies and other precious stones in considerable number. Bits of broken coloured glass were also said to have been found in quite recent times, though we saw none. Our excavations yielded little. A few pieces of broken enamelled tiles, an earthenware headless Buddha, some broken pottery, and a short piece of stone moulding,

gave no indication as to the nature of the original building. It is probable, however, from experience elsewhere, that, had it been a religious structure of any kind, we should have found more small figures of the Buddha, and possibly, fragments of larger figures. At the south-east corner, a large circular piece of laterite stone three feet in diameter, one foot thick, and with a hole in the centre, lay half buried in the ground. It is most probable that this formed part of the top of a stone umbrella.

It may be worth noting, in view of the inconclusive nature of most of the finds, that one Po Shwe Pa, aged sixty-seven, of Kamanat village, asserted that what we have called the Palace-site was the site of the throne-room of Tissa Kumma, who reigned from 1043 to 1057, and was the last king of the first dynasty. (Thamaing page 81). The extremely systematic manner, in which the mound had been trenched and re-trenched, shows, at any rate, the strength of the local tradition that it was a place of some distinction.

THE ÇIVA TEMPLE. The place, we may provisionally describe as the Çiva temple, lies some distance south of the palace from which it is separated by dense jungle. It is traditionally known as the Peinne-daik, or temple of Ganeça. Some years ago, a local treasure-hunter dreamt that much wealth would be found in this place, and it was thoroughly dug over. So far as could be learnt, the only find was a flat oblong stone with a depression in the centre, thought to have been used, in old times, for pounding rice. On visiting the spot, I found that the stone was lying above ground. I thought it was a sufficiently remarkable object to justify a little further excavation. The ground had evidently been dug over more than once, and the plan of the building, which had stood on it, could not be made out. There had evidently been a brick wall or foundation, and several flat stones found at a depth of about three feet, suggested a floor or paved path. Our finds were another stone similar in appearance to that previously unearthed, a block of stone roughly octagonal in shape with a groove on one side [Plate I, figure 1 (a)] and three mutilated figures of deities [Plate I, figures 1 (b), (c) and (d).] These last I have not been able to identify with certainty. Figure 1 (b) appears to have a figure of some sort between the upper and lower ledges of the pedestal slightly towards the left, but this, in the stone as in the photograph, was quite unidentifiable. Figure 1 (c) represents a Hindu goddess of some sort. The folds of the dress between the legs are clearly marked. Compare the picture of the Hindu Goddess of Luck (figure 38 in Rhys Davids' *Buddhist India*).

The shape of the flat oblong stones first referred to is fairly clear from the photographs [Plate I, figures 2 (a) and (b).] The lower figure 2 (b) is 3' 6" long, 1' 7" broad, and 10" deep. The circular depression in the centre is a foot in diameter and 1" deep. Round the edge of the stone runs a ridge about half an inch in height: the ridges on either side taper inwards at one end and meet to form an axe-edge point. The stone is hard lime-stone, such as is not found locally. The second stone figure 2 (a) is three feet in length, 1' 10" broad, and 7" deep. Its face is generally similar in shape to that just described, except that the central depression is in a circular raised portion, and that the channel at the pointed end of the outer depression enclosed by the ridge is deeper and must unmistakably have been intended to allow of liquid

running or being poured off. The stone is softer than the first and is a kind of sandstone, also not found locally.

The work in both cases is rude and points to a great antiquity.

Before going on to discuss the purpose to which the stones may have been put, I would remind the reader that the place of excavation is within the walls of the old fort, and that whatever the building was, it was almost certainly associated with the palace.

In the original draft of my report, I put forward the suggestion that the two stones were *yonis*, the pedestals, on which the linga or phallus, which is a prominent feature of the Çiva cult, was set. It has been however, pointed out that the absence of any trace of the phalli throws some doubt on the correctness of the suggestion. While giving due weight to this criticism—and caution is specially necessary because no clear evidence of the prevalence of Çiva-worship in Burma has yet been produced—yet if the stones are held not to be *yonis*, I think we shall find it difficult to say what they are. And further, I should like to refer to the extremely circumstantial account given in the Shwemawdaw *Thamaing* (page 76) of the destruction of King Tissa's image by the populace on his reconversion to Buddhism. None of the kings of the second dynasty can be charged with undue devotion to Hinduistic cults, but from what we know of Indian influence in Ramanya in early times, it would be very surprising if the kings of the first dynasty had altogether escaped contamination. The account of Tissa's reign in the *Thamaing*, though not free of obvious myth, is comparatively very full and gives an impression of essential truth. He was misled by Indian teachers to worship Indian divinities—the “great world spirits” (page 70) and set up their images in front of his palace. He also insisted on his subjects following his example. This occasioned great discontent, and when ultimately the king returned to the true religion, the people, in their joy, smashed the figures of his *nats* with sticks and stones (page 76). Now in a hasty demolition, by an infuriated mob inspired with religious frenzy, the comparatively small and light *lingas*, which were, too, the most odious of all the symbols, would be more easily destroyed than the heavy and solid *yonis*. This is, at least, a possible explanation of the absence of any thing that can be definitely held to be a *linga*.

I reproduce in Plate I figures 3 (a), (b) and (c) illustrations of a stone, somewhat similar in appearance, from page 9 Vol. II of *Archaeologie du sud de l'Inde* (Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1914) which represents a typical *linga*. A detailed comparison will show that all the essential features of the *yoni* are present in the Pegu stones.

No inscription or other certain indication of date was found. As has been said above, if we can assume the stones to be *yonis*, their date may be fixed as previous to the end of the first dynasty in or about 1057 A. D. (I say “about,” because, as has been shown in the Pegu Gazetteer, there is reason to believe that a king reigned in Pegu for some years after). If they are not *yonis*, it is more difficult and probably of less importance to attempt to assign them a date.

VAULTED SHRINE. This little temple is situated in the northern part of the old fort about a hundred yards from the Thanatpin road, and a little

to the east of the track leading to the house formerly occupied by Mr. Dias, in what is known as the Thawka garden. It stands on a little knoll, and is almost covered with earth and vegetation. We dug away sufficient of the earth on the east face, to lay bare the entrance, and found that the interior was nearly filled by a large anthill, bricks and other *débris*. A hole had been made in the roof by treasure-hunters some years previously. Nothing of any importance was found on clearing the earth away. It was evident that a Buddha image had been placed on a platform against the west wall, and that, on lower platforms round the other walls, cement figures of Rahandas had been placed. Plate II, figure 1 (d) shows a Buddha head in cement of the ordinary medieval type which was found here.

The height of the shrine from floor to roof is eight feet, the length from east to west eighteen feet, and the breadth from north to south 15 feet. The remarkable feature of the building is the vaulted roof. The four walls are continued as arches meeting at a point on the top. The bricks are carefully shaped, the mortar is good, and, but for a hole made by treasure-seekers, the roof is perfectly sound still. It is the fine arch work to which I should call attention. Very little of it is found in Pegu. The Shwekugyi and other monster buildings of later times exhibit no specimens, stone or modern beams taking the place of arches. The same phenomenon—the substitution of the beam for the arch—has been noticed in other parts of Burma, and must certainly have taken place before the end of the XIII century and the decline of Pagan, for in the subsequent capitals, the arch proper does not occur at all. With regard to the pointed arch in particular, which does not occur in India, it seems probable, on general grounds, that Anawrata learnt it from Thaton, and the *Hmannan* (Vol. I page 251) mentions that he carried away with him after his conquest various kinds of builders and masons.

Our little conical shrine, therefore, may be attributed to the Talaing masons, who taught Anawrata, and must have been built either previous to his conquest of Thaton, or shortly after it, while their school still survived in Lower Burma. All things considered, it is most likely that the shrine was built during the period of the first Pegu dynasty and by direction of one of the kings.

KANNYINAUNG PAGODA. This pagoda is at the north east corner of the fort. Its name has been forgotten, but, from the fact that there are two tanks near it, we called it, for convenience, Kannyinaung. Its height, at present, is some fifty feet. The upper part has collapsed and the bricks lower down are in such a jumble as to suggest that they were heaped up loosely with the view of being enclosed in an outer casing or retaining wall, which was never finished. We made a cut through this loose brickwork, about the conjectured height of the third *pyitsaya* or terrace, and struck the "bell" of a smaller pagoda. This was unplastered and of very good brickwork. On digging into it, we came upon the treasure-chamber. It had, as usual, been rifled of all precious metal, but we found 560 unenamelled earthenware plaques of Buddhas of various designs, none bearing any inscription. A specimen is given in Plate II, figure 1 (i). There is a figure of Mara in the corner, which the photograph does not clearly show. It was suggested to us that, as the pagoda lies only some 400 or 500 yards to the

east of the palace-site, it may have been the *Nan-u* or palace pagoda. The excellence of the brickwork points to the careful workmanship of an early period. The loose and hasty outer coating suggests the impatient piety of the kings of the second dynasty, who reigned in the old fort till about 1470 A. D.

SHIN SAW BU'S THALUNDAW. The so-called Shin Saw Bu's bedstead is a small mound just south of the Thanatpin road, and within the old fort. It has always had the reputation of being a likely place for finds, and has evidently been several times investigated by treasure-seekers. Our few finds were jumbled anyhow in earth that had been frequently turned over.

The mound is about five feet high, and, had, at one time, been enclosed by an ornamental brick retaining wall. Its length north and south is forty feet and its breadth twenty feet. On digging into the top of the mound, several small figures of Buddha were found. The tiles and iron nails among the *débris* show that there was once a wooden building with a tiled roof. The nails were large and of antique pattern, but could not have been more than 150 to 200 years old. Shin Saw Bu reigned from 1473 to 1483 A. D.

Pegu has preserved so little in the way of tradition that one is disposed to treat, with great respect, what has actually survived. Although the mound cannot very well have been a bedstead, we may assume that it did have some connection with Queen Saw Bu. She may have built a monastery or shrine upon it. Such was her reputation in Pegu that any building erected by her would be repaired or renewed either by private individuals or by the kings, her successors. The date of the original building will be fairly clear from a consideration of the objects found. These were:

A kyaikpon (four Buddhas back to back) in soft cement very much defaced. [Plate II, figure 1(c)].

1 plaque with 28 Buddhas on one side and a Pali inscription commemorating its donation by a minister or official on the other—no date. [Plate II, figure 2(a)].

1 small copper casket about the size of a betel-nut, containing four rubies and two small pellets of dark colour which were generally held to be sacred relics.

2 heads of Buddha in stone. [Plate II, figure 1(j) and (i)].

2 heads of Buddha in cement. [One is shown in Plate II, figure 1(b)].

Several other fragments of Buddhas and 3 large iron nails.

The mound was searched to a depth of about six feet. The finds were obtained in the upper three feet.

Considering the rarity of *Kyaikpons* in Burma, we may safely assume that the miniature found here was made at about the same time as the great *Kyaikpon* still to be seen south-west of Pegu, which was erected in the reign of Dhammacheti.

Kyaikpons are common in Cambodia and are generally taken as indicating Cambodian influence. But this influence must not always be assumed to have been direct; it may have come through Siam. Pegu and Siam were usually in close commercial relations, sometimes at war, and sometimes sovereign and subject states. Siamese influence was probably at its height at the end of the thirteenth century, when the founders of the second dynasty

had to solicit recognition from the kings of Siam, and their successors were not, for some time, able to assert their independence. The great *Kyaikpon* is undoubtedly an illustration of Cambodian influence transmitted, through Siam at this period, and the miniature may very well be one of the models, which must certainly have been brought over prior to its construction. It may be noted that the smaller of the heads of Buddha [Plate II, figure 1(1)] has features of a type common in Siam—long nose and an expression of hedonic neutrality almost amounting to caricature.

The other objects found may or may not be contemporary with the *kyaikpon* and the head of Buddha last mentioned. Some of them at least may be no older than the wooden building which last occupied the mound.

SMALL SHRINE NEAR KANNYINAUNG. Some very much decayed bronze figures of the Buddha were found on a mound about 300 feet north of the Kannyinaung Pagoda. [Plate III, figure 1 (d), (g) and (h)].

The mound is 25 feet long from east to west and 16 feet broad. Fragments of unglazed roofing tiles were scattered about.

HOLLOW PAGODA. Near the entrance to the Thawka Garden above referred to, there is a small mound about 26 feet square by 11 feet high. The lower six feet appears to be solid brickwork and earth. This base is surmounted by a smaller building some 15 feet square, which, on investigation, proved to be hollow. It contained a number of Buddha figures whole and in fragments imbedded in the earth with which the hollow was filled. 660 "red stones" including a few rubies, all uncut, were also found. Treasure-seekers had, as usual, been at work: they may have left the stones as of little value, or working as they would at night, may have overlooked them.

Plate II, figures 1 (k), (m) and (n), shows some specimens of a type of Buddha of which forty-six were found. In Plate III, figure 1 (n) will be seen a seated figure with the right hand clutched on his breast. This is not one of the *mudras* or recognised attitudes of the seated Buddha and the statuette probably represents a Brahma.

Plate III, figure 1 (i) shows a *trimurti*, somewhat a rarity in Burma. It is said that the *trimurti* is regarded by Buddhists as representing the three precious things—the Buddha, the Law and the Order. It is noticeable, however, that the hands of the figure are in an attitude of obeisance so that it may really represent Hindu deities doing reverence to the Buddha. All the figures are of brick.

There is nothing to indicate the age of the pagoda and its contents, except, perhaps, the inferiority of the rubies and the fact that the roof of the vault was arched. These are both evidence of considerable antiquity. The presence of the Hinduistic figures points to a time when Buddhism and Hinduism were both familiar to the kings of Pegu, and possibly in conflict. On the whole, therefore, it is most probable that the pagoda dates to the time of the first dynasty, possibly about the reign of King Tissa, the Hindu convert.

It now remains to describe the more important of our operations outside the fort. A good many ruins on the Hintha ridge were inspected, but nothing of any particular significance was observed, and all sacred buildings had been previously rifled. Several sites on the Golf-links were also examin-

ed with equally little result: most of the mounds there seem to have been occupied by wooden monasteries in the prosperous time previous to Tabinshwe-ti's conquest, and, except for a few broken pieces of pottery, not a vestige of them remains.

To the south of the old fort we were more successful. This area—bounded on the north by the south wall of the old fort, on the east by the paddy fields stretching out to Thanatpin swamp, on the south by Taungthudu village, and on the west by the modern (XVIth century) Fort—is covered with ruins of religious buildings, and must, at one time, have been a veritable city of pagodas and monasteries. There are no traces of village-sites or of cultivation. With the funds at my disposal, it was impossible to undertake extensive excavation among many of these innumerable ruins, and the larger of them had perforce to be left untouched. We had many disappointments, but, at three places, objects of some interest were unearthed.

RUINED PAGODA EAST OF TAUNGTHUZU. This was about twenty-five feet in height. On digging into the upper part of the mound, we found, some 16 feet from the starting point, a small pagoda which had been encased in the later one. The bell, which was the part we laid bare, was in good preservation. On cutting into it, we found the following in the ruined treasure-chamber:—

Bronze figure of the Buddha four inches high, seated on a throne of about the same height. In the centre of the throne is a projection resembling a tortoise's head, and the throne, in general, is evidently intended to represent a tortoise [Plate II, figure (k)]. A plaque with 104 figures of the Buddha [Plate II, figure 1 (f)]. 5 plaques with fifteen figures and two with one.

On digging further down, a lump of overburnt brick, some 18" in diameter, was found. This caused some excitement amongst the elders of the surrounding villages, and there were great expectations as to its contents. It proved to be simply a solid mass. Its use or meaning was not apparent. Probably the pagoda builders had found it lying about in the brick-yard and built it in as a convenient centre.

ZAWGYIGON PAGODA. On digging into a small mound on the southern part of the pagoda platform, we unearthed the following:—9 bronze figures of the Buddha about four inches high, some headless [Plate II, figures 1 (a), (b), (c), (e) and (f)].

One bronze figure in an attitude of adoration [Plate III, figure 1 (m)]. The base and lower part of a stone figure of the Buddha—a goblin directly underneath the figure and a rahanda on either side [Plate II, figure 2 (c)].

A slightly tapering stone, with figures of the Buddha in three tiers, the lowest having 15, the middle 12 and the uppermost 11 figures [Plate III, figure 2 (b)].

The base and legs of a figure of the Buddha, a lotus directly under the figure and a fish on either side [Plate II, figure 2 (d)]. Stone head of the Buddha [Plate III, figure 1 (j)].

Stone head of the Buddha with an appearance of outspread ears [Plate II, figure 2 (b)].

The pagoda itself is about 25 feet in height in its present ruined state, and stands on a spacious platform. From the fact that a fragment of an

inscription in Talaing, recording a discovery of religious importance and bearing date 638 B. E. (1276 A. D.) was found near by, we may infer that there had previously been a pagoda on this site, and that it was enlarged and rebuilt in that year.

The pagoda had been broken into by treasure-seekers on the north-east side. On clearing away the rubbish, they had left, we found a small solid silver Buddha some two inches high. (The small figure seated on the lower rim of the treasure pot, Plate III, figure 2).

TRIPLE PAGODA AT TAUNGTHUZU. North-east of Taungthuzu village, there stands a ruined pagoda some 60 feet high, much overgrown with trees and bushes. We dug into this about the middle of the "bell," but as the outer bricks were a mere mass of ruins, it was difficult to be certain of our position. After cutting through ten feet of rather inferior brickwork, we came to the upper part of the "bell" of an inner pagoda. Cutting into this, we found it to be built of medium sized well burnt bricks compact with excellent mortar, so that the brickwork was like solid rock.

After eight feet of cutting, we came on the "lilies" of a third pagoda. We cut downwards in the brickwork of the second pagoda till we reached the "bell" of the third. The following objects were found in the course of digging between the brickwork of the second and third pagodas:—

- 4 small standing Buddhas in sheet lead;
- 1 seated Buddha in sheet lead;
- 5 brick plaques each with 15 figures of the Buddha;
- 12 plaques with 102 Buddhas;
- 25 plaques with 54 Buddhas;
- 560 plaques with one seated Buddha, hands open, one on the other, resting on the lap.

On digging into the "bell" of the third pagoda, we found the brickwork even better than that of the second. The first indication that we were nearing the relic-chamber was the hollow sound, which had before guided us to an already rifled cavity. Presently one of the diggers reported a conical pointed projection in the centre of the pagoda. We worked till after dark, removing the surrounding bricks and had to abandon work for the day. Next day, the shaft was widened and the pot shown in Plate III, figure 2, was brought to light—the conical point had been broken prior to the taking of the photograph. Stuck in mud on the outside of the pot were:

- 3 thin gold upright Buddhas—damaged—not by us;
- 3 similar figures in silver and several broken pieces of gold sheet—damaged.

The pot was carefully washed and examined. It was of sun dried brick and bore no inscription or other significant mark. Its diameter at the widest part was 1' 3" and its height 1' 10".

Within was a smaller pot of similar material shown in Plate III, figure 3. Inside this were found:—

- 2 upright Buddhas in sheet gold, 7 and 8 inches high;
 - 1 seated figure of the Buddha in sheet gold 4 inches high.
- The second pot contained a third, shown in Plate III, figure 4, similar material to the others. This contained 3 sheet gold upright Buddhas 6 inches high;

2 five inches high; and

1 seated Buddha 3 inches high also in sheet gold.

The figures surrounded a core of white powder, which had probably once been scented but was now quite odourless. In this core were:

1 gold pagoda 7 inches high;

1 solid gold seated Buddha 3 inches high;

1 solid gold upright figure with a gold back support 3 inches high.

Inside the pagoda was found a smaller pagoda three inches high; inside that a third about an inch in height, and inside that a small quantity of black powder generally considered to be *Dattaw* or sacred relic. Among this *dattaw* was a small solid gold pagoda about $\frac{1}{4}$ " in height.

The following articles were also found on a careful examination of the fragments of the pot and its adherent mud, but their original position is uncertain:

A small silver helmet or *Khamauk* exactly of the pattern now worn, and a small silver sword also of the ordinary modern shape;

1 bangle of brass with possibly a very little gold in it;

Several small necklace stones pierced in the centre including a sapphire and others of which I omitted to note the names.

On further examination of the shaft from which the pot had been taken, we found a base or stand of brick with six fragments of bronze Buddhas stuck against it.

Plate IV, figure 2, and Plate V, figures 1 and 2, exhibit the finds. They had, of course, to be handed over to the local elders, who promised to place them in a vault where access to them could be had. In case, however, the elders should break their promise, I took one of the gold Buddhas as a specimen, and gave it for custody to the Shwemawdaw Pagoda Trustees.

The finds just described are obviously, from the photographs, of considerable importance. Before discussing them further, it is desirable to settle their date as far as possible on external evidence. The following points are to be noted:—

The outer pagoda from its ruinous state, the inferiority of the brickwork, its size—(the base is eight-sided, each side being about thirty three feet long)—and generally from what is known of the pagoda-building epochs of Pegu history, may safely be referred to the XVth or early XVIth century.

The two inner pagodas, so far as can be judged from the brickwork, do not differ greatly in date, and may be referred to the period before the Thaton school of masonry had declined in Lower Burma. The date of this decline must be uncertain, but it had probably begun within a hundred years of Anawrata's conquest, say, by 1150 A. D.

The situation of the pagoda is on the eastern edge of the high land, and it was probably placed there when the harbour was on the east of the ridge, i. e. when ships came to Pegu by the gulf of Martaban. It is quite clear that the Pegu River was the route in Shin Saw Bu's reign (1452 A. D.)

Another indication of antiquity is the brass bangle, which was found in the founder's family, and the fact that a wife or daughter of a well-to-do man wore brass ornaments, implies an extremely primitive state of society.

As to the founder himself, the silver sword and *Khamauk* show that he

was an official with military rank. From the site he selected, he was an officer of one of the kings, who inhabited the old town.

SEARCH FOR PARALLELS IN PAGAN AND SOUTHERN INDIA:—With regard to the finds themselves, it is exceedingly difficult to settle to what school of art they belong. One naturally seeks for parallels in the contemporary art of Pegu. I have not had an opportunity of inspecting the Pagan Museum, but I have seen the photographs of Pagan Buddhas etc., in the files of the Archaeological Department. There is not a Buddha among them, which can be said to bear any resemblance to those with which we are dealing. All are of the same northern Indian medieval school, of which one might, perhaps, say that, if the aim of the artist is not high, he is at least always able to attain it. In these Pegu Buddhas, on the other hand, there is no suggestion of attainment. The limbs and pose are stiff and the artist has no control over expression. His features express at haphazard varying degrees of ferocity or idiotic bewilderment, and never reach the ideal of dignity and repose at which he was obviously aiming.

Failing Pagan, one is tempted to look for parallels in the art of Southern India. For there is something in the coarseness of feature that suggests the idols of present day Madras. Unfortunately, few South Indian photographs of Buddhas have been published. The most representative selection of photographs will be found in *Archaeologie du Sud de l'Inde* by G. Jouveau-Dubreuil *Vo. II*. The *trimurti* facing page 19 and the central figure in illustration A facing page 90, though both modern, have a certain similarity in general effect and particularly in coarseness of feature. Attainment is, however, manifest in both.

In Vol. IV Part III of the *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, Maung Mya of the Burma Archaeological Survey, in an article headed "Our Museum," published a number of representations of Buddhas and other figures which belonged to the late Bishop Bigandet. Their place of origin is unluckily not known, but the author finds indications that it was a cold and chilly country. Anyhow, it must be admitted that all the metal figures represented belong to a more advanced school of art than those we are discussing.

These Buddhas, therefore, would appear to belong to an archaic Southern Indian school of art, which gave place (in Southern India at least) to the medieval school about the beginning of the VIIIth century A. D. (Contrast the rigidity of limbs in Plate XVI—seventh century—with the comparative suppleness of the whole body in Plate XI—eighth century—in Jouveau-Dubreuil's *Archaeology of Southern India* above quoted). We have no evidence to show that our figures were actually constructed as early as the seventh or eighth century, but, if they were not, they were constructed in Pegu by an artist of the archaic school, which must have survived in Pegu, after it had come to an end in India. But it is difficult to believe that this archaic school survived in Pegu after the medieval Northern Indian school had penetrated Burma—it was the dominating school in Pagan—or at any rate after Pagan had come into contact with Pegu. On grounds of style alone, therefore, one is inclined to hold that the figures antedate Anawrata's conquest in 1057 A. D.

It may be thought that the shape of the pots should afford some indication of date. So far, I have not found any published illustrations of similar vessels which might be used for purposes of comparison.

INSCRIPTIONS NOT EARLIER THAN 15TH CENTURY A. D.:—The excavations described above are the most important of those that were undertaken. A little digging was done in numerous other places with no result worthy of record. The inscriptions found in the southern part of the Pegu district and in other neighbouring districts have been deciphered and, for the most part, translated and annotated. I understand that some of the impressions have since been sent to Mr. Blagden. All of the inscriptions, except possibly one from Athok in the Bassein district, of which I heard from Mr. Grant-Brown, then Deputy Commissioner there, belong to the late medieval period, not earlier than the fifteenth century A. D. Thus in my hopes of finding some written record of the kings of the first dynasty, I was completely disappointed. Perhaps, something might be found at Zaungtu, where kings reigned before Pegu was a capital. This is a place I should have liked to visit, but the state of the roads made this impossible in the time at my disposal.

There are several other points on which I might touch, particularly in connection with the topography of Pegu, but these have been dealt with in the historical chapter of the Pegu Gazetteer which will shortly be published.

I had good assistants in Saya Thein, who had been, for some years, my teacher in Burmese, and Maung Tun Win, whom I employed at Government expense. The compendious knowledge and antiquarian zeal of the former and the sound Talaing scholarship of the latter were of course, invaluable and indispensable to me. Funds did not permit of my hiring a photographer, and I had to learn photography *ad hoc*: but if my photographs are not as good as they should have been, the articles themselves are in safe custody on the Pagoda platform at Pegu, where they can be seen at any time. The defects of my work will be pretty obvious from this report. A lack of sufficient knowledge of the early history of Pegu and contemporary India at the start, could unfortunately not be completely remedied by subsequent reading. That my Report is not more inadequate than it is, must be attributed to the generous help constantly afforded me by Mr. C. Duroiselle, Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, who was Officiating Superintendent of Archaeological Survey at the time of my work in Pegu. I am indebted to Mr. Taw Sein Ko for the loan of books on Indian antiquities, and also for kindly providing me with enlargements of many of the photographs which I had taken.

REFERENCES TO PEGU:—It is, perhaps, worth while reproducing photographs of the Ma-kaw pagoda (Plate IV, figure 1) at Pale, a village some twelve miles south of Pegu, and of a so-called diamond Buddha (Plate VI) preserved in one of the *pongyi kyaungs* and said to have been found in the course of executing repairs to the pagoda. Makaw was a place of great importance in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Travellers to Pegu came as far as Macao or Macceo as they variously called it by river, and went from there to Pegu by road. (Cæsar Fredericke in Hakluyt V, 415, Fitch *ibid.*, 486, and other travellers mention it).

J. A. STEWART, I. C. S.

LIST OF PLATES.

Excavation and Exploration in Pegu.

Plate I—Figs. 1 and 2—Finds discovered at the Civa Temple, Pegu.

Fig. 3—Figures of a *Linga* reproduced from page 9, Vol. II of *Archaeologie du sud de l'Inde* (Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1914).

„ II—Finds discovered at the Vaulted Shrine, Kannyinaung Pagoda, Shin Saw Bu's *Thalundaw*, Small Shrine near Kannyinaung, Hollow Pagoda, Ruined Pagoda east of Taungthuzu, and Zawgyigon Pagoda, Pegu.

„ III—Fig. 1—Finds discovered at the Vaulted Shrine, Kannyinaung Pagoda, Shin Saw Bu's *Thalundaw*, Small Shrine near Kannyinaung, Hollow Pagoda, Ruined Pagoda east of Taungthuzu, and Zawgyigon Pagoda, Pegu.

Figs. 2, 3, and 4—Finds discovered at the Triple Pagoda at Taungthuzu, Pegu.

„ IV—Fig. 1—Makaw Pagoda at Palè, Pegu District.

Fig. 2—Finds discovered at the Triple Pagoda at Taungthuzu, Pegu.

„ V—Finds discovered at the Triple Pagoda at Taungthuzu, Pegu.

„ VI—Diamond Buddha discovered in a relic chamber of the Makaw Pagoda (Plate IV, Fig. 1).

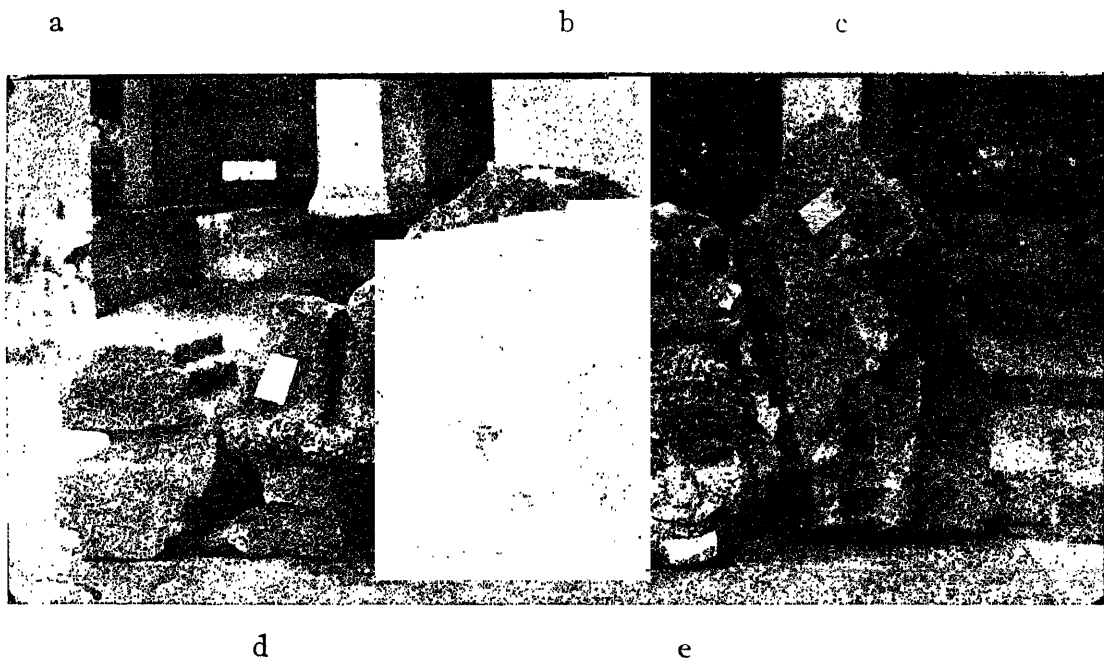


Fig. 1



Fig. 2

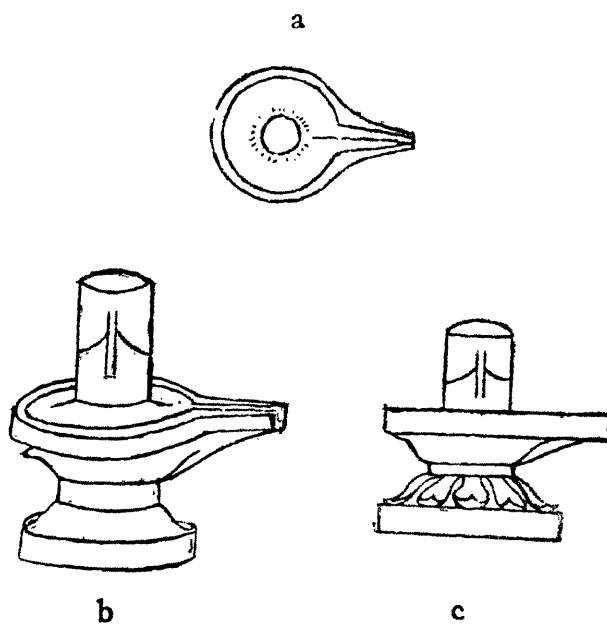


Fig. 3

Figs. 1 and 2—Finds discovered at the Civa Temple, Pegu.

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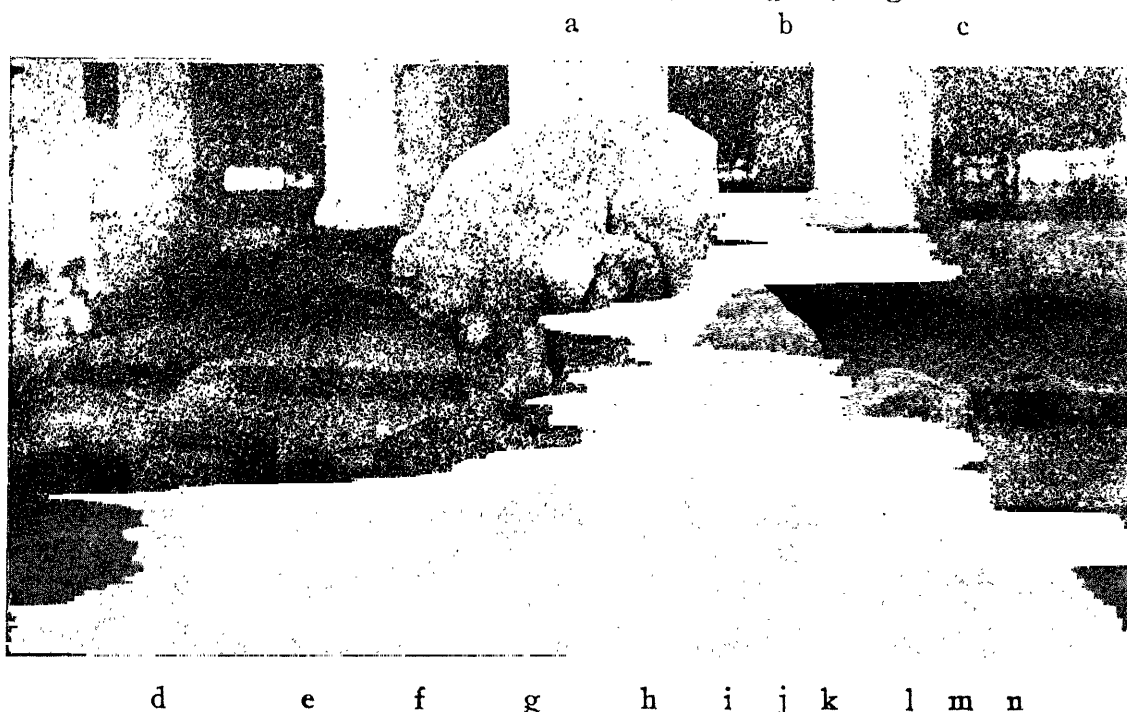


Fig. 1

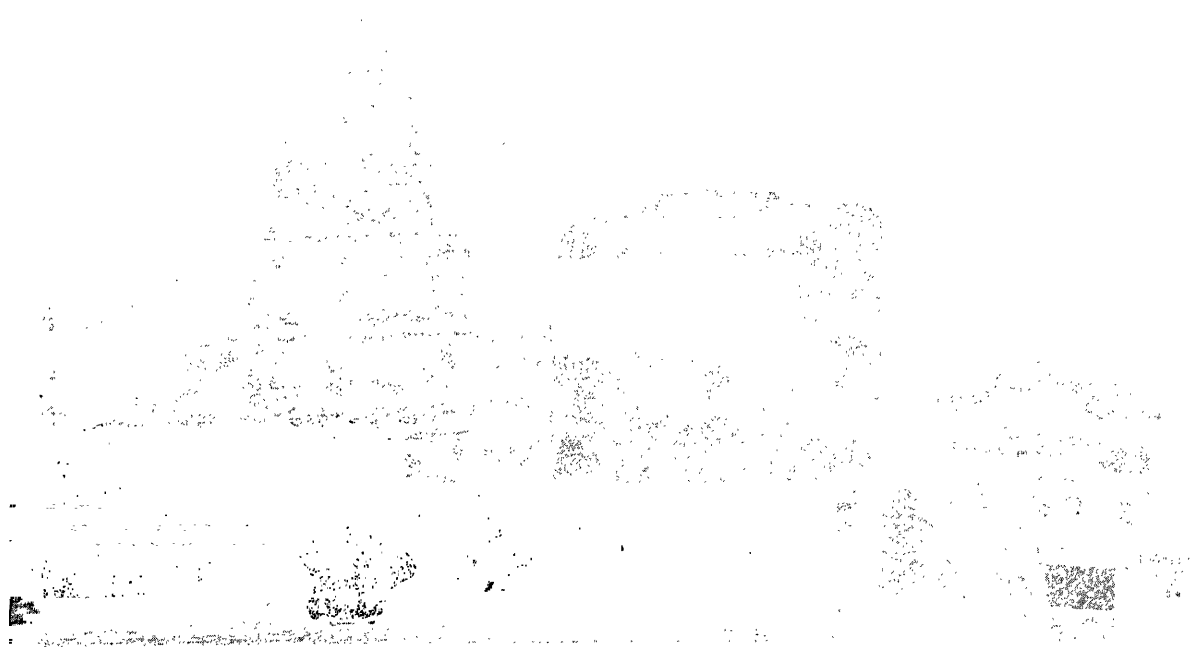


Fig. 2

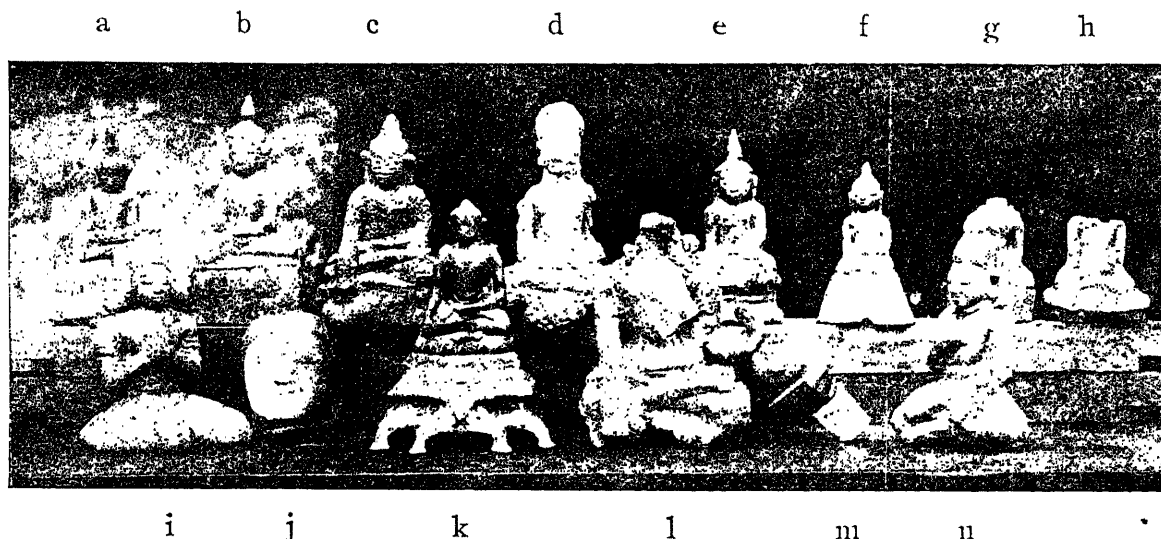


Fig. 1.

Fig. 1.—Finds discovered at the Vaulted Shrine, Kannyinaung Pagoda, Shin Saw Bu's *Thalundaw*, Small Shrine near Kaunyinaung, Hollow Pagoda, Ruined Pagoda east of Taungthuzu, and Zawgyigon Pagoda, Pegu.



Fig. 2.

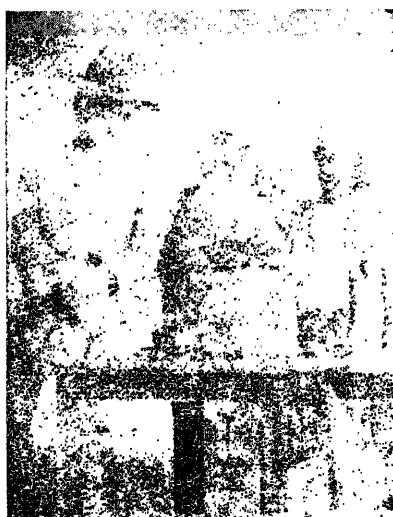


Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.

Figs. 2, 3 and 4.—Finds discovered at the Triple Pagoda at Thaungthuzu, Pegu.

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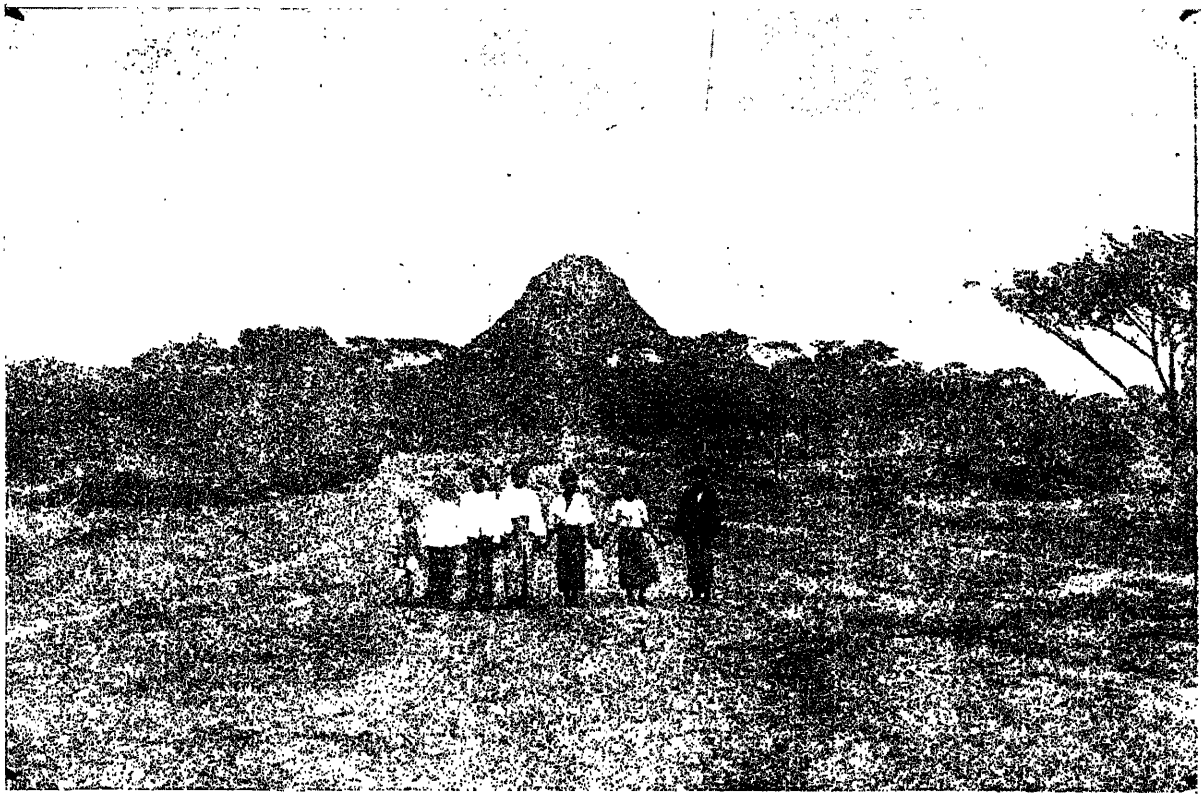


Fig. 1.

Fig. 1. Makaw Pagoda at Palè, Pegu District.



Fig. 2.

Fig. 2. Finds discovered at the Triple Pagoda at Taungthuzu, Pegu.

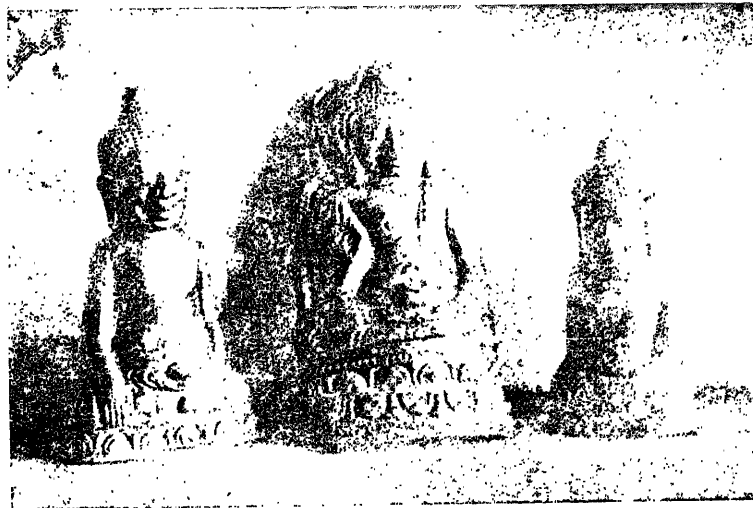
Finds discovered at the Triple Pagoda at Taungthuzu, Pegu.



d

Fig. 1

e



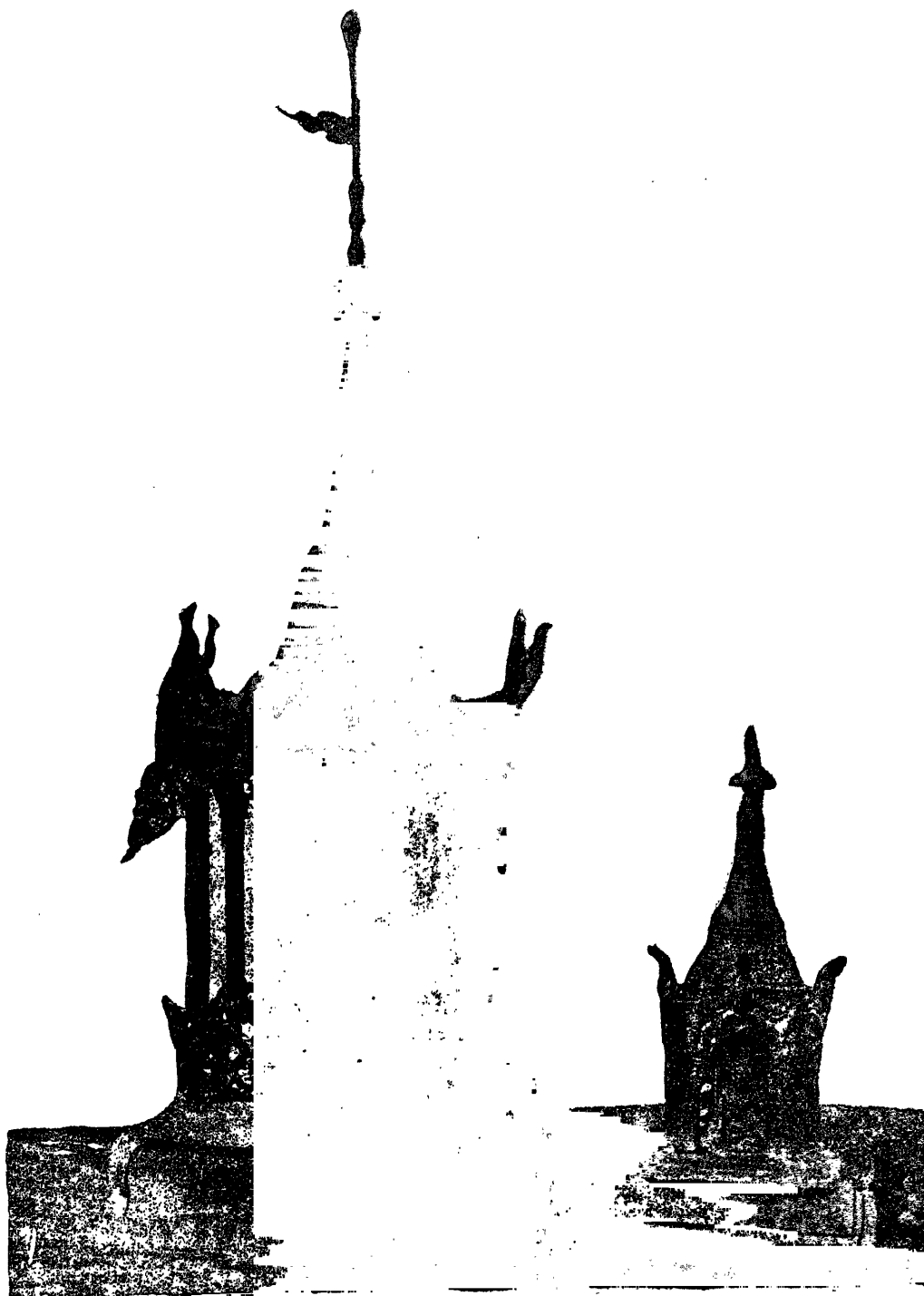
a

b

c

Fig. 2

Diamond Buddha discovered in a relic chamber of the Makaw Pagoda.
(Plate IV, Fig. 1.)



FROM CHINA TO PERU.

A Study in Burmese History.

I.

During the 17th Century Tenasserim became one of the most important markets in the world: the Burmans and the Siamese fought to possess the town; the Portuguese, the French, and, in particular, the Dutch and English fought to control its trade.

Those are the facts.

The first object of this paper is to explain those facts, and to trace out and set in order the intricate ramification of surrounding circumstances in such detail as will support the explanation.

But it has also a secondary object: it is intended as an illustration of scope and method in Burmese History which may perhaps make some impression on those who say that Burma has no history, or that its history is unmeaning, or uninteresting. And perhaps it may not be so deeply buried in the transactions of this Society but that, directly or indirectly, now, or at some future date it may inspire some Burman, who has learned to read in history a significant process of cause and effect, action and re-action, to do what after all is his own proper work, and write for the edification of his fellow countrymen the story of the body politic of which he is a member.

II.

In history, as in economics, politics and in every other study dealing with man as a member of Society, there are two prime factors; and one of these is geography. States, no less than individuals, are members one of another; and the migration of a savage horde, or the birth of a new idea has effects which radiate and re-echo from China to Peru. But these effects radiate most widely and most rapidly and are most clearly perceptible when they bear directly on those activities which are common to mankind, on getting and spending. Now the products of the east are and must be different from those of the west, and those of the tropics different from those of the temperate regions. Between these opposite quarters there must be exchange, trade, traders, and the profits of trading. Along the line of trading profits will accumulate, and where these profits accumulate there will be wealth, or at least riches. Trebizond, Bosra and all those cities of which the names reverberate through history from century to century mark the nearest route; Nineveh and Tyre as well as Glasgow and Marseilles mark temporary deviations; Solomon and the Directors of the P. & O., each in their own time and after their own fashion, hold the gorgeous east in fee.

If then, you look at the map, you will see that there is only one stretch of water in the whole world through which all the sea-borne traffic between Europe and the farthest east naturally and almost of necessity must pass: the Straits of Malacca. "The Trade of the *East* and *West* make Malacca most Rich and Populous;" wrote Faria y Sousa.⁽¹⁾ To the east the routes

⁽¹⁾ "The Portuguese in Asia" Vol. I, p. 176 translated by Captain John Stevens, London 1695.

divide immediately between Australia, the Spice Islands and China; on the west the Ports of India and Africa compete for the privilege and the profits of handing on the merchandise a further stage: but it must all pass through the Straits. The traders who had spread the rival doctrines of Vishnu, Buddha and Mahomed and had erected the vast monuments which dot the coast from Thaton to Boro-budur and Angkor Vat were succeeded by Arab dhows and junks from China and Japan, who met one another in these Straits, and, during the 16th century perhaps the largest, the most important and the wealthiest of all the mediaeval fairs was situated, first at Cingapura, and then, when the earliest Portuguese arrived there, at Malacca.

There was only one route which might compete with it; and that lay through Tenasserim.

Tenasserim, or rather Mergui, the port of Tenasserim is an excellent natural harbour for vessels of light draught. It was the second port at which coasting vessels bound northward from Malacca called; Queda, Tenasserim, Martaban and Pegu or Syriam was the order of their course to Arakan and India; Nicolas di Conti called there 500 years ago on his return to India from Sumatrâ. But Tenasserim had one advantage which its rivals did not share; it was more than a Port, it was also the terminus of the land route from Siam. The first Jesuit father sent to explore Siam in 1606, starting from Pegu, sailed to Tenasserim and thence journeyed overland, "partly by goodly rivers, partly over cragged and rough Hills and Forests, stored with Rhinoceros, Eliphants and Tigers unto Odia."⁽¹⁾ that is to say, Ayuthia, the then capital of Siam. Thus Tenasserim not only tapped the coasting traffic, but it opened for the produce of south-eastern China and Siam, and for the spices, the most precious item in the whole catalogue of far eastern merchandise, an alternative route overland, by which the perils of the sea and the fear of pirates could be avoided. That was the secret of its importance.

But if you look at the map you will see that only under certain conditions was Tenasserim on the shortest and most convenient route; unless the route across India were secure other routes had the advantage. Acheen was nearer to Ceylon; and all the ports north of Tenasserim were nearer to India. It is true that the long sea voyage round the south of India was hazardous in the frail vessels of the time, and that the journey all along the coast was interminably protracted; but these evils could only be avoided by passing through Tenasserim *if*, (and in the "if" lies the condition of its importance) *if the route across India were secure*. So long as that route was open Tenasserim lay on the shortest and safest route between the far east and Europe, but when it was closed Tenasserim might have opulent phases when other routes were comparatively less secure, but it neither had nor has any inherent natural basis as a port of the first importance.

III.

Thus, the history of Tenasserim is pre-eminently a problem of human interest. Geography is an important factor in history, but more important

(1) "English Intercourse with Siam;" J. Anderson, *Trubnero* 1890.

is the human will which can override the dictates of geography. For Tenasserim to prosper the natural channels of trade must be diverted by the human will, or human incapacity. With such a diversion our examination of the problem may begin.

Malacca had been subject to Siam, but late in the 15th century it had declared its independence.⁽¹⁾ When the Portuguese first landed the King of Siam was still attempting to recover it, and had despatched an army of 40,000 men against Mahomet, who had usurped the throne. During this period of anarchy in Malacca Tenasserim prospered, and about the year 1500 we find that Tenazar was the first mart for spices in India; "thence come pepper, cinnamon, cloves, mace, nutmeg, galanga, camphor that is eaten and camphor that is not eaten."⁽²⁾

But with the advent of the Portuguese the trade reverted to its immemorial routes. The strategic genius of Albuquerque had immediately solved the problem of capturing the Arab trade. He established a fort at Ormuz to cut off its approach to Europe, his conquest of Goa gave him command over the coast line of India, and his capture of Malacca in 1611 crowned his resolve that the Moslems should "never more be able to introduce their spices."⁽³⁾ His fortress at Malacca and the firm Portuguese government which he established there gave him a monopoly of the spice trade and it was no longer necessary, nor even possible for much of the traffic to pass through Tenasserim.

A hundred years later, when the Dutch and English followed the Portuguese, the problem before them resembled that which had been solved by Albuquerque, and they solved it in the same manner. To cut off the trade between the south of India and Ormuz they fought and intrigued against one another for Surat; to cut off the trade between Malacca and the south of India they fought and intrigued for a settlement between Madras and Masulipatam, and to cut off the trade between the Spice Islands and Malacca they fought and intrigued for a stronghold on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula. Hence the earliest settlements in Malaya were at Patani; the Dutch settled there in 1602, and the English opened a factory in the same place ten years later.⁽⁴⁾ From this point of vantage they could not only cut off the produce of the Spice Islands from Malacca, but also from Siam, and consequently, from Tenasserim. So long as the Portuguese held the Straits in force, and the Dutch and English were dependent on the favours of Siam, Tenasserim must have benefitted indirectly from their presence, but neither the Dutch nor the English wanted to use that route; their object was to seize the Straits. That they could effect a settlement on the east coast at all illustrated the decline of the Portuguese power, and in 1641 the Dutch captured Malacca. Thus the entrance of the new rivals did not at first greatly benefit Tenasserim.

Other factors working at the same time tended to eclipse Tenasserim. From the time of Anawrata, every Prince in Burma who was secure at home

⁽¹⁾ Faria y. Souza loc. cit., and "Rise of the Portuguese Power;" p. 4. Whiteaway. Constable 1899.

⁽²⁾ Quoted by Anderson op. cit., p. 23.

⁽³⁾ "History of British India" I. p. 126 Hunter, Longman Green & Co., 1900.

⁽⁴⁾ Anderson op. cit., p. 45.

has steadily and instinctively pursued the policy of enlarging his coast line and thus obtaining a greater share of the rich and profitable coasting traffic. During the 17th century there had been a succession of powerful sovereigns in Burma culminating in Maha Dhamma Rajah, known later as Anaukpet Lun Min, who succeeded in 1613 in evicting the Portuguese from Syriam. Following up this success he sent his armies against Tenasserim. But the Portuguese, anxious to avenge the loss of Syriam joined their forces with Siam, and the expedition was repulsed. A full account is given by the Portuguese historian.⁽¹⁾

"The King of Ava grown proud with his success against the Portuguese at Syriam, resolved to conquer all the neighbouring princes. He caused himself to be crowned at Bagou and by the conduct of his Brother with 50,000 men was soon Master of the Kingdom of Tavoy. This General moves to Tenasserim and besieges it by Sea and Land. Christopher Rebello, who had fled from his house at Cochin for some crime, durst attack the Fleet of 500 Sail with only 40 Portuguese and 70 Slaves in four Galliot, and put it to flight, after burning many vessels and killing 2,000 men.

"The King of Siam to whom that Town belonged, for joy of this Action highly honoured the Victorious Portuguese, and offered them leave to build a Fort in any part of his Kingdom they would choose... but there being too much then on our hands these offers could not be accepted."

But even then matters were not quiet at Tenasserim for very long. By 1624 the Siamese were at open war with their former allies, and the war dragged on until 1632 when the Portuguese blockaded the mouth of the Tenasserim River, and were only driven off by a company of eight Japanese on elephants commanding a body of Siamese dressed as Japanese warriors.⁽²⁾

Thus during the first half of the 17th century the centre of interest in far eastern waters shifted to the east of the Malay Peninsular, while, at the same time, local disturbances at Tenasserim further diminished the volume of trade. In 1641 when the Dutch had driven the English from the Archipelago and finally captured Malacca from the Portuguese it looked as if the glory of Tenasserim had departed.

IV.

But this achievement of the Dutch was only one of two separate processes which combined to give Tenasserim a brief splendour such as it had never before enjoyed and is never likely to recover. In the one process the Dutch drove their rivals from the ancient trade routes; in the other the English consolidated their position in India and opened out a new trade route. The English opened a route across India from Surat to Masulipatam, and, at a later date, Madras, which would enable them to short circuit the ancient trade routes if they could establish a footing at Tenasserim. At the same time the supremacy of the Dutch from Malacca to the Spice Islands rendered it necessary for the English to hold Tenasserim if they were to share the eastern trade. We may trace in outline these two separate processes.

* (1) Faria y. Sousa op. cit. III 197.

(2) Anderson, op. cit., p. 87.

When the Portuguese helped Siam to repel the Burman invasion the English were settled at Masulipatam and had already formed the idea of trading direct from that port to Tenasserim. On the refusal of the Portuguese to build a Fort the King of Siam turned to the English for assistance and imported Englishmen to build him a junk "as large as the Hollanders."⁽¹⁾ But this led to war with the Dutch, who were already far stronger than the English east of the Peninsular, and they surprised and captured two English vessels off Patani. The English revenged themselves by beating the Dutch in a "cruel bloody fight," but the battle was of no strategic value, and the Dutch regained their position by a decisive victory over the same squadron off Sumatra.⁽²⁾

Hostilities were then terminated by a treaty which arrived in Batavia in 1620. But although the clauses of this treaty had satisfied both parties at Whitehall and the Hague, the partial construction put on them by either side gave renewed occasions for dispute. In 1623 occurred the massacre of Amboyna when the Dutch imprisoned and tortured the English agents there, and killed several of them. The incident rankled in English memories and remained unavenged for thirty years, and that it remained unavenged shows the weakness of the English. The factory at Patani was closed down; in 1626 the factory at Batavia was abolished, and in 1630 the settlement at Bantam was declared subordinate to Surat.⁽³⁾ The Dutch had in effect driven the English out of the archipelago. The Portuguese were no longer in a position to withstand them. Their assistance to the Siamese against the Burmans was a last flicker of energy, their ill success in the war against Siam lasting from 1624 to 1632, was a sign of their decay. In 1641 the Dutch replaced them at Malacca and a year later drove them from Ceylon. The Spice Islands were the bait by which the rival powers had been attracted, and henceforth the Dutch were undisputed masters of the Spice Islands and of the sea route leading to them.

But India was a consolation prize, and this fell to the English. The conditions here were different; in every island of the archipelago there had been one or more insignificant principality quite unable to stand up against the newcomers from Europe, but in the north of India there were two dominant Powers, the Mogul and Golconda, who were in command of numbers to ensure respect. Both were traders but neither had any power beyond the coast line and even near the coast neither of them was firmly established. The Mogul could not ensure obedience in Gujarat, and the King of Golconda could only obtain a formal acknowledgement of suzerainty from the rajahs along the east coast. The Dutch, in India and in the archipelago, treated directly with the subject princes, ignoring the fact that here they had an overlord, or else encouraging them to throw off his yoke. The English, with better diplomacy, supported the suzerain in each case. There were successes and reverses, but the coast rajahs were gradually subordinated to Golconda, and Gujarat was forced to acknowledge the sway of Delhi. By 1657 this process was complete, and in that year the Company resolved to have only one presid-

(1) Anderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 46, 76.

(2) Hunter, *op. cit.*, I p. 373.

(3) Hunter, *op. cit.*, II p. 59.

assistance without imperilling their position on the east coast. And he had not realised that the King of England was one of the largest shareholders in the Company; that, in effect the Company could be identified with England, and that to Englishmen in general, no less than to the Company, the interlopers were better than renegades.

More important, and less excusable was his omission to realise that the jealousy between the interlopers and the Company was nothing compared with their common jealousy of the French. During the first half of the century the Grand Monarch had concentrated the forces of his kingdom on obtaining the dominion over Europe. Richelieu had thrown a passing glance towards the east but the Company to which he gave a charter did not venture beyond Madagascar. Not until the revival of trade under Colbert was there any determined effort to extend the French power over Indian waters. Even then, in the furthest east, for twenty years they confined themselves to religious propaganda, and from 1660 to 1680 a succession of missionary bishops left France for Siam. But in 1680 the *compagnie royale* established a factory in Ayuthia and the Siamese gave them a welcome such as fifty years before they had given to the English. Shortly after the establishment of this factory Phaulkon was numbered among the converts to the Latin faith, and bound by the double tie of mutual interest and a common religion he extended his favours to the French. Mutual embassies passed between the two countries and in 1685 the new French ambassador was accompanied to Siam by an imposing escort under the command of a *Marechal de France*. Thus, during this period the fortunes of Tenasserim have as their background the long rivalry of France and England.

The detailed history of this period has already been placed on record in the pages of this Journal. Briefly the upshot was as follows. Phaulkon's attack on the merchants of Golconda led directly to open hostilities with the Company; the Company could not deal with the interlopers and besought the intervention of the King; the interlopers could not withstand the authority of the King, and they feared the machinations of the French even more than they feared the Company; hence they resigned their pretensions. But they were succeeded, not by the Company, but by the French who, for a short time, were the masters of Tenasserim. The French however could not profitably hold the town so long as the English commanded the land route across India and the Dutch held dominion over the eastern seas; they had no foundation for their power and, in the course of a few months, were overwhelmed, together with Phaulkon and the King of Siam, by an internal revolution. The Dutch were left in possession of the field.

But the development of Tenasserim was contrary to Dutch policy; they held Malacca, and, at this date, had little if any trade with Burma. It was not for more than a hundred years that the English, after they had consolidated their position in India and driven the Dutch from the strategic points along the trade route, renewed their attempts against Tenasserim. And by this time they no longer needed Tenasserim as a short cut to the east; they were masters of the sea routes. At first they did not recognize this and hoped to restore the town to its former position. Mr. Maingy, the first Commissioner of the Province, was an enthusiast. In his earliest report

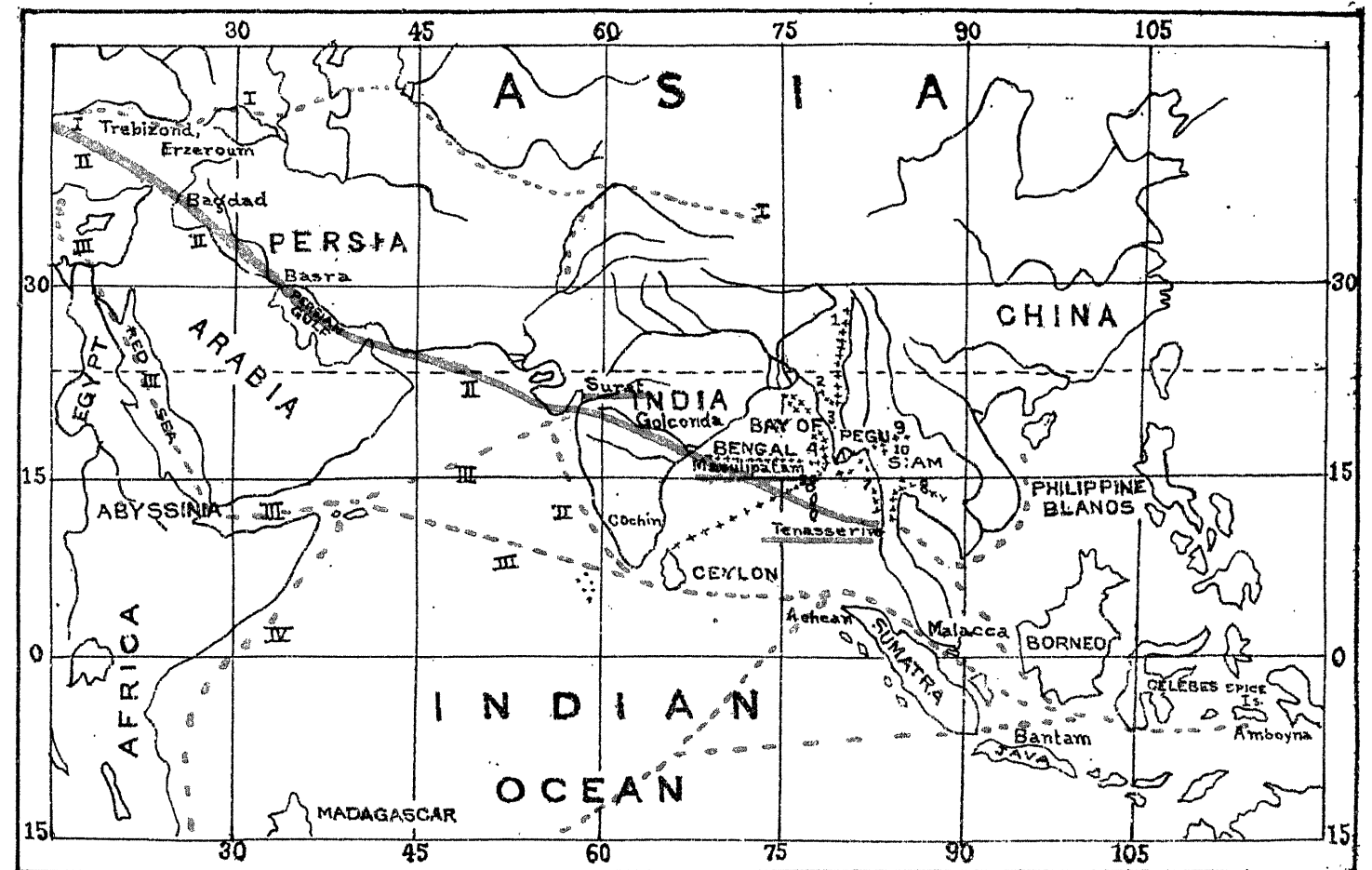
after taking over charge from the military authorities he writes; "Mergui possesses all the advantages which have been ascribed to it whether in a commercial or political point of view; . . . it is in every respect marked out as a depot for Commercial Emporium, and with an increased population combined with the industry and enterprize of British and Chinese merchants, it may reasonably be expected that the ancient commerce formerly carried on with Siam will be revived, and by this means the manufactures of England and the British Empire be widely dispersed."

But he had not read his history and did not reckon on Singapore and Ceylon. The ancient trade routes along which merchants in the dawn of history brought gold and sandal wood and spices for Solomon, even before Solomon for the Ptolémies and Pharaohs, have passed into English hands; now, as then, Tenasserim lies off the nearest route; it no longer holds the merchants shears. It still lies on the nearest route, as the crow flies; and possibly, at some future date when the produce of Java and the Spice Islands is brought to India by air, it may revive. But an aerodrome has not yet been suggested, and meanwhile it is dependent on the resources of the immediate neighbourhood.

J. S. FURNIVALL.

M A P

ILLUSTRATING TRADE ROUTES WITH REFERENCE TO BURMA AND TENASSERIM.



Main Trade Routes and Subsidiary Routes of Importance to Burma

- I. Oxus-Trebizond route
- II. Bosrah-Bagdad route
- III. Red Sea route
- IV. Cape route—opened by Portuguese.

Summarised History of Trade Routes—

1. Ancient routes I, II, III.
2. Route I blocked by Mongols (Turks). Routes II and III held by Arabs.
3. Albuquerque with bases at Cochin, Ceylon, Malacca, cuts off routes II and III, opens route IV.
4. (a) Dutch replace Portuguese.
(b) English short circuit route by base at Surat, Masulipatam (i.e. Madras) and Tenasserim.

Subsidiary Routes of Importance to Burma * * * * *

1. Main Irrawaddy route
2. Chindwin route (junction of two Pagan)
3. Prome-Sandoway route (junction with foregoing Prome)
4. Arakan Sea route
5. Orissa Sea route
6. Ceylon Sea route
7. Malacca Sea route
8. Tenasserim-Siam cross cut
9. Overland China route
10. Overland Siam route

junction with Irrawaddy route at Tigon (Rangoon)

join one another at Thaton and with former at Hanthawaddy and Tigon

THE "PYU" INSCRIPTIONS.*

BY C. O. BLAGDEN.

Although very little progress has been made in the decipherment and interpretation of these records, it seems worth while to state briefly how the matter stands at present, before I offer such suggestions as I can make for the further prosecution of this line of research.

The study of "Pyu" epigraphy begins with the Fourth Text of the Myazedi inscription of Pagan, which was discussed in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for April 1911. From a comparison of that text with the corresponding Pāli, Burmese and Talaing versions, the greater part of the "Pyu" alphabet was ascertained and a number of "Pyu" words were identified, some with certainty, others with more or less probability. From these data and from the syntax of the language, so far as it was exemplified in that one text, the inference was drawn that the language was a Tibeto-Burman one that had been in contact with Talaing. It was therefore provisionally assumed to have been the vernacular of the Prome district in ancient times, and the name "Pyu" was attached to it as a convenient label.

Subsequent discoveries have tended to confirm these inferences. A number of other records in the same language have been found at Prome or its immediate neighbourhood. The "Pyu" inscriptions of which copies have been forwarded to me comprise the following:—

- (1) the Bèbè Pagoda inscription;
- (2) the Kyaukka Thein inscription;
- (3) three or four short inscriptions on votive tablets and the like;
- (4) the inscriptions on urns found near the Payagyi Pagoda; (all the above were found at or near Prome);
- (5) the Amarapura inscription (removed to that place by a Burmese king); and
- (6) an inscription found (I believe) at Pagan, of which only a photograph has been sent to me. I am informed that the reverse of the stone bears another inscription in Chinese characters, apparently unconnected with the "Pyu" one.

Nos. 1, 2 and 6 are so dilapidated that at present practically nothing can be done with them. The records included under No. 3 are more legible but they are very scrappy, while No. 5 contains a fragmentary text which up to now has yielded no new information that I can understand: No. 4 seems to offer the best opening for study. It comprises the inscriptions engraved on five urns, four large stone ones and a smaller one made of earthenware. Some of these urns were found to contain ashes and were probably used for the purpose of burying the cremated bodies of individuals of some local importance.

* Reprinted from the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII with the consent of the author.—Editor.

On these five urns there appear to be seven distinct inscriptions. Indicating the stone urns by the letters A to D and the earthenware one by the letter E, the corresponding inscriptions can be conveniently referred to as A, B₁, B₂, C, D₁, D₂ and E. B₂, which follows immediately on B₁, is in faint letters many of which are hardly legible; it appears to contain 18 (or 19) *aksharas* and to have little in common with the other records. E has only 11 *aksharas* and has also little in common with the rest. D₂ is a long record of (apparently) 17 lines, *viz.* 8 lines of "Pyu" text, a final line of what appears to be merely ornamental flourishes and 8 interlinear rows of faint symbols differing from the "Pyu" letters. In this last peculiarity it resembles Nos. 1, 2 and 5 and at present I cannot explain what these symbols stand for. They are clearly not essential, for they do not occur in the shorter inscriptions.¹ Perhaps they are merely ornamental. D₂ has little in common with the other inscriptions and it is engraved on the bottom of its urn. The other urn inscriptions are engraved horizontally round the several urns.

The four inscriptions A, B₁, C and D₁, are all of one type and I propose to make a detailed comparison of them here. Their resemblances and differences will probably turn out to be matters of importance. For, be it remembered, "Pyu" is a language of which as yet only a very small number of words have been identified, and when one is invited to decipher and interpret inscriptions in it which, unlike the Myazedi one, are not accompanied by translations in other languages, one finds oneself face to face with the difficulty of not knowing how to begin or where to seek for clues. It seems to me that our best chance of interpreting these records is to ascertain what is essential or "common form" in them so as to be able to distinguish it from what is accidental or individual. Every new record of this class that may turn up in the future will help us to draw this important distinction. Then, when we are tolerably certain of the general intent and purport of the essential words, a comparison with the known Tibeto-Burman languages ought to give us clues to their exact meanings. But we ought first to be fairly clear as to the *sort* of meanings that we should look for.

This is particularly necessary in the case of quasi-monosyllabic languages, where there are always a number of words that have several distinct meanings in different contexts, an inherent ambiguity which is only imperfectly met by differentiation of tone. "Pyu" appears to fall into this class. It is not strictly monosyllabic, but largely so, and it apparently rejects final consonants altogether, thus immensely reducing the possible number of its syllabic combinations. I am still of opinion that the dots or little circles resembling *anusvāra*, *visarga*, and their combinations, used in the "Pyu" script represent tonal marks. If that is correct, the "Pyu" tones must have numbered half a dozen or more. In any case it is necessary to reproduce these diacritical marks in our transcription, or we should be mixing up quite a number of distinct words.

There are other difficulties in connection with these inscriptions. They are, it is true, engraved for the most part in clear and fairly well preserved

¹ They seem to occur sporadically in No. 6 and, to a small extent, in the Myazedi inscription.

characters of the same archaic, South Indian type as the "Pyu" text of the Myazedi inscription, and most of the letters are easily recognizable. But some of them are only doubtfully identified as yet. There appear to be several that resemble one another rather closely and are difficult to distinguish, particularly those which in the Myazedi inscription I have provisionally read as *q*, *d*, and *l* (and there may possibly be a *t* and *l* amongst them also). Further the compound *aksharas* are not always easy to decipher, the subscript forms of the letters being different from the isolated forms and by no means easy to identify. Also there is a strong resemblance, amounting almost to identity, between the lower portions of the letters *k*, *r* and subscript *u*. Accordingly the transcripts which I now propose to give must be regarded as tentative and subject to such further correction as subsequent enquiry may show to be necessary. To emphasise this point I put into parentheses such letters as I consider doubtful for want of certainty of identification. Square brackets, on the other hand, will serve to indicate places where the reading is conjectural because the stone has suffered damage. In order to show clearly the points of resemblance and difference amongst the four inscriptions I place the corresponding words directly in the same vertical lines. The actual text of each of these four inscriptions (and also of B2) begins with the three paragraph marks which appear at the beginning of the Myazedi inscription.

TEXT.

Plate A	tda: ḥa: u hi t(r)a hna (ka) harivikrama ¹ ḥa:
„ B1	tda: ḥa: u (bhū) s(n)ū: [s]ihavikrama ḥa:
„ C	tda: ḥa: u hi sūriyavikrama ḥa:
„ D1	tda: ḥa: u hi sūriyavikrama ḥa: uv(o):
Plate A	sni: (ṇ)a sū kni (de) hni
„ B1	sni: hrā sū (de) hni
„ C	sni: (ṇ)a sū (de) (p)i (ṇ)a
„ D1	ḥa:k(d)i° ḥa: [ta] ti° (pl)i° sni: (hau): sū pi (ṇ)a
Plate A	ti° ² phvu (t)pū p(l)a ta (k)i° (kha) u sni: sni: p(l)a sū
„ B1	ti° phvu p(l)a ta (k)i° (kha) u sni: sni: p(l)a sū
„ C	ta (k)i° (kha) u [sn]i ³ sni: tr[u sau] ³
„ D1	ta (k)i° (kha) u sni:

1. [There is a sign resembling an *anusvara* above, and *virāma* below the *akshara ma* in *Harivikrama*.—S. K.]

2. [Looks like *mi*°—S. K.]

3. This looks more like *sau* in my rubbing than it does in the plate, but I am very doubtful of it.

Plate A ta (de) kni ti° phvu t(k)o ti° tda: ḥa: u ru (kl)e: ya
 „ B1 p(l)a (de) t(k)o ti° phvu (t)pū ti° tda: ḥa: u ru (kl)e: ya
 „ C p(l)a ti: tda: ḥa: u ru (kl)e: ya
 „ D1 ḥa: u ru (kl)e: ya

Where so much is uncertain it seems hardly worth while to discuss the doubtful letters at length. The word *de* may perhaps be *le*, or something else. The word *bhū* might conceivably be *ro*, *re* or *nū*; *ta* may be *va* or even *ve*, and so on. There is very little to guide one in these doubtful cases, when the language is as good as unknown. I am not sure whether *ti°* just before the last *tda:* ought to have two dots after it or one: the texts appear to differ.

In C *piṇa* looks like *miṇa*. The letter *ṇ* is also very like *j* in several of these words.

It appears from these inscriptions compared together that they have the following common elements: (a) the phrase *tda: ḥa: u . . . ḥa:*, which includes the easily recognizable proper names *Harivikrama*, *Sihavikrama* and *Sūriyavikrama*, (b) the phrase beginning with *smi:* and ending with *ta ki° kha u smi:*, and (c) the final phrase *ḥa: u ru kle: ya*. What are we to make of it all? It appears from the Myazedi inscription that *tda:* means "king"

and *ḥa:* is a general honorific word, prefixed to the names of august personages (and worshipful objects, such as the statue of the Buddha mentioned in that inscription). What the next few words stand for I do not know. In the Myazedi inscription *hi* appears to mean "to die" and "death", but I am by no means sure that it is the same word here. In view of the unintelligible variant in B1 and the additional *tra hna ka* in A, I have my doubts. Perhaps these are partly names or titles of the personages commemorated. It is plain that on the strength of the first phrase we are justified in speaking of a dynasty reigning at Promé, which used "Pyu" as its official language and affected Indian names ending in *vikrama*. But very likely its members had "Pyu" names as well. The honorific *ḥa:* was apparently capable of being suffixed as well as prefixed to the royal name. The words *uvo:* to *pli°* in D1 are beyond me at present. I merely point out that the first word occurs in l. 3 of the Myazedi inscription. Possibly it should be read *u vo:* and in that case the *u* would be the genitive affix. It would then be tempting to conjecture that *vo:* meant "queen," as it accompanies the word *maya:* in that context. If we read *uvo:*, perhaps the word means "his." But in any case I think we may conclude with great probability that D1 commemorates some near relations of Sūriyavikrama, whether his consort be among them or not. The string of words (with honorifics) after his name, for which there is no parallel in the other records, seems to indicate that much. Besides Sūriyavikrama's own urn is C, and no man requires more than one coffin.

It is tempting to interpret *pli*^o as meaning "grandchild", on the strength of l. 24 of the Myazedi inscription; but this last has *pli*, not *pli*^o, which is a doubtful reading anyhow.

I pass on to the next phrase. In the Myazedi inscription *sni* means "year" and I am confident that it has the same sense in our urn-inscriptions. *A priori* it is reasonable to assume that it would be closely associated with numerals, and I note that that is the case here. In B1 it is followed by *hra*, which in the Myazedi inscription represented "eight." In D1 it is followed by *hau*, which we might perhaps read *ho* and which in any case reminds one of the word *ho* that stood for "three" in the Myazedi record. Later on in A there is a word *tā*, which in the Myazedi record meant "one." The inference is that the corresponding unknown words are also numerals. Among them there is one which constantly appears in the same relation to the other words, though these change. The constant is *sū*, and assuming "Pyu" to use a decimal system, we must conclude that *sū* means "ten." For reasons that will presently appear, it cannot be "a hundred" nor is it likely to be "twenty."

At this point a digression becomes necessary. M. George Cœdès has published¹ a very kind appreciation of my paper on the "Pyu" text of the Myazedi inscription and drawn my attention to the fact that the symbols in ll. 1-2 thereof which I had read *cū jha e* are not "Pyu" words of number as I had supposed but the conventional symbols employed in some ancient Indian inscriptions to represent 1,000, 600, and 20, respectively. I accept these identifications the more readily as I had myself felt (and suggested in a note)² that my *e* might after all possibly be the old numeral symbol for 20. I can now confirm M. Cœdès' view, as I have compared the original rubbings (which are much larger and also clearer than the plate published with my paper in the *Journal*) with Bühler's *Indische Palæographie* (Pl. IX) and find that the symbols, including that for 600, correspond. But with regard to *hra* I am not so sure. M. Cœdès would also make of it a conventional symbol. But the symbol is *hra* not *hra*. And what has a tonal mark to do with a numeral figure? Secondly, *hra* is used in l. 7 of the Myazedi text in connexion with an entirely different form of 20, which I conjecturally transliterated *shū* but now propose to identify with the *tpū* (or *npū*?) of A and B1. This I take to be a genuine "Pyu" word for "twenty", not an Indian numeral symbol. Thirdly, *hra* is apparently used in B1 as a multiplier of *sū*, ten. Therefore I still think that I may have been right in talking *hra* to be a "Pyu" word and a relative of the Burmese *rhach*, of genuine Tibeto-Burman descent.

To return to the other numerals in our four inscriptions. There is no internal evidence as to the values of the unidentified ones not yet mentioned.

1. *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*, 1911, pp. 435 f.

2. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1911, p. 383.

The following table is therefore to be considered as based largely on conjecture tempered by a general comparison with the forms of numerals in other Tibeto-Burman languages¹ :—

1	tā	5	ña, piña	9	tko
2	hni	6	tru	10	su, (sau)
3	hau, (ho)	7	kni	20	tpū
4	plā	8	hra		

The vowel *au* is used in the Myazedi inscription as a variant of *ū*; but I must admit that it is odd that both *sū* and *sau* (which is, moreover, a doubtful reading) should appear in such a short document as C. Also the word *tru* is not quite certain, that portion of the rubbing being by no means clear; it might conceivably be *tra*, though I prefer the reading *tru*. I assume that "five" has two forms, the shorter one being used as a multiplier. If these more or less hypothetical conclusions are correct, these inscriptions have by a fortunate concurrence of circumstances given us a series of "Pyu" numerals which is complete so far as it goes and seems to be in general agreement with the numerals of other Tibeto-Burman languages. But further confirmation will of course be necessary before we can accept it as definitely established in every particular.

As *sni* means "year" it seems reasonable to suppose that *de* (or *le*, or whatever the true reading may be) and *phvu* stand for other divisions of time, probably "month" and "day" respectively; for they also are followed by numerals, or words which we have found to form part of the numerical combinations used in connexion with *sni*, or words used alternatively to such words. I take *ti* to be a postposition meaning "in", but I admit that there is some doubt as to this, and its use here seems rather capricious and irregular. The phrase *ta ki kha u sni* common to all four texts is evidently a formula describing the type of year intended. As it is a consonant it can only refer to some characteristic or quality common to all the years previously mentioned, and the most natural view of it would seem to be that it defines them by reference to some fixed point, in other words it denotes some era. Then follows another chronological phrase beginning with *sni*. This is wanting in D1 and I take it to refer to the ages of the deceased persons commemorated in these epitaphs. If urn D contained the mingled ashes of several members of the family, that might be a good reason why this phrase is not found in D1. At any rate these numerals have no constant relation to the preceding sets of numerals, and they are too high to be probable lengths of reigns.

Let us now tabulate these chronological data. Assuming the first set of numbers to be referable to some fixed point or era, the inscriptions will fall into the order D1, C, A, B1. There is of course nothing in the texts (so far as we can understand them at present) to determine *what* fixed point or era is implied. But let us assume, for the sake of convenience, that it was the ordinary Burmese era of 638 A. D. We can then make out the following chronological table :—

¹ Compare as a handy reference *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1913, pp. 315 ff.

- (1) year 35 (673 A. D.); Sūriyavikrama's relative or relatives died;
- (2) year 50 (688 A. D.), 5th month; Sūriyavikrama himself died, aged 64 years;
- (3) year 57 (695 A. D.), 2nd month, 24th day; Harivikrama died, aged 41 years, 7 months and 9 days.
- (4) year 80 (718 A. D.), 2nd month, 4th day; Sihavikrama died, aged 44 years, 9 months and 20 days.

From this it is obvious that the three personages named could very well have been grandfather, father and son occupying the throne of the Prome monarchy in lineal succession. Of course we are not entitled to assert that this really was the fact: but as a working hypothesis it seems to be consistent with the evidence at present available.

So too as to the era, the most one can say is that it is not an impossible one. But there is very little to guide us as to the age of these inscriptions. We know that the Myazedi record is only about 800 years old, yet its alphabet does not differ very materially from that of our urn-inscriptions. But then it shows signs of great archaism, the leading instance being the anchor-shaped subscript *y*, which was obsolete in India after the 4th century. This argues such a conservative attitude on the part of "Pyu" scribes that I cannot understand how anyone can profess to date their inscriptions by palæographical evidence alone. We know from history that the Burmese of Pagan conquered the South somewhere in the 11th century and therefore one is naturally disposed to date the Vikrama dynasty of Prome before that period (unless they were merely local chiefs, vassals of Pagan). Besides, the alphabet of the urn-inscriptions does look slightly older than that of the Myazedi record. On the other hand M. Finot has pointed out¹ that the form of the letter *r* with the lower hook joined to the main shaft indicates a date not earlier than the 6th century. This leaves us a margin of about 500 years wherein to locate the Vikrama dynasty, and vague as it is I regret to say that at present I can suggest no more definite solution of this chronological problem. It is of course a perfectly reasonable inference from the archaic type of the alphabet that the introduction of Hindū civilization into the Prome district goes several centuries further back than the probable period (7th or 8th century?) of these urn-inscriptions.

There remain for consideration the concluding words of our texts. It will be noticed that there is complete agreement among them as to the last five syllables. Plainly the phrase has something to do with the common purpose of all these epitaphs. As the word *yā* appears from the Myazedi inscription to be a demonstrative meaning "this," I conjecture that the phrase is descriptive of the urns or their contents. The essential words are of course *ru kle* (or *uru kle*) or whatever else the right reading may be. These are qualified by the honorific *ba* (or *tda*: *ba*). For it is not quite certain, first, whether *tda* (which does not appear in D1) goes with what precedes or

1. *Journal Asiatique*, 1912, Series X, Vol. XX, p. 133.

with *bā*ᳵ, secondly, whether *u* is the genitive particle or the first syllable of a word *uru*.¹ Either way I imagine the phrase to mean something like "these are venerable (or royal, or worshipful) remains (or corporeal relics)", or "this is a royal funeral urn", or something of that kind. Here there is scope both for conjecture and for comparison. I have, I fear, already indulged in more than enough of the former and my want of acquaintance with the Tibeto-Burman languages disqualifies me from adequately using the latter method. But it has struck me that *ru* or *uru* is curiously like the Burmese ခံ့ ᳵ : "bone", a word which I understand is applicable to the ashes of cremated persons. And if we could find out what *kle*ᳵ means, the sense of the phrase could be determined. Unfortunately the characteristic peculiarity of "Pyu" already referred to makes comparison very difficult. The language apparently tolerates no final consonant and therefore the word *kle*ᳵ might conceivably correspond to almost any Burmese monosyllable beginning with *ky* or *kr*, and there are many such. Until the older forms of Burmese have been studied and it has been ascertained in what cases *ky* (or *kr*) goes back to a primitive *kl*, as it does in some words, or until a number of other Tibeto-Burman languages have been drawn into the comparison, any suggested explanation must remain highly conjectural. It is also, of course, by no means probable that Burmese will give useful clues for every "Pyu" word; it may often be necessary to look for them in other members of the family.

Here I must leave the subject, at any rate for the present. It will be obvious to everybody that there is a very great speculative element in the suggestions I have ventured to put forward. My object in throwing them out is to stimulate enquiry among those who are more competent to pursue this line of research than I can ever hope to be. I trust that I have put my hypotheses in such a form that they can be checked by Tibeto-Burman scholars and I leave to them the task of confirming or refuting them, as the case may be, according to the balance of the evidence that may be brought to bear on these questions. But I venture to think that some of the results of my examination of these urn-inscriptions, will stand the test of future research and that it will be found that these texts consist, broadly speaking, of phrases conveying pretty much the personal, chronological and other information, which my tentative analysis claims to have detected in them.

¹ If (as seems most likely) *tda*ᳵ goes with *bā*ᳵ, I think *u* must probably be taken as a particle: *tda*ᳵ *bā*ᳵ *n* "H. M. the King's."

A STUDY OF LETWÈ-THÔNDARA'S POEM WRITTEN DURING HIS EXILE.

The poem appeared with an historical notice by Saya Thein in the pages of the last April number of the Society's Journal. It takes such high rank in our literature that it is well worth our while to take a closer view of it.

The actual date of its composition is a moot point. Almost all available records are at variance with one another in this matter.

According to Saya Thein, the poet was sent to Mèza for incurring the royal displeasure during the reign of Sinbyushin, Alaungpaya's second son. It is also said that the poet composed the poem there and sent it to his wife for presentation to Prince Singu-min, son of Sinbyushin. However, a not very reliable record gives quite a different story. It says that the poet was sent away in the reign of Alaungpaya whom it styles *Bedaw* (great-grand-sire). But it is silent in regard to the person to whom the King stands in such relationship. All things considered, this account seems highly improbable.

Again, three independent records clearly point out that the poet was deported to Mèza and that the poem was composed there in the days of Naungdawgyi, Alaungpaya's eldest son, who ascended the throne at Shwebo in 1122 B. E. (1760 A. D.).

If we are to rely on this, we may fix the date of the poem to the first or second year of Naungdawgyi's reign, that is, before he removed his capital to Jeyapura or Sagaing which he founded two years after he had become king. If, on the other hand, we are to accept Saya Thein's account we may take it that the banishment took place either towards the close of 1125 B. E. (1763 A. D.), the first year of Sinbyushin's reign, or in the early part of the following year and that the poem was written then. The reason is this. In the latter part of the second year, the King led an expedition against Manipura which lasted for nearly three months, and a few months later he shifted the seat of government from Shwebo to Ava, i. e. in 1127 B. E., the 3rd year of his reign.

But a lapse in Saya Thein's record may be noticed here. On the strength of the information gathered from a grandson of the poet, he puts down the period of the poet's exile including the dates of banishment and recall at 49 days. But this is scarcely correct as the time passed by the poet in exile can with some degree of certainty be inferred from the poem in which he recounts his own experiences. In one place he alludes to the seasonal wind which blows from the south in Kasôn (May) and its benumbing iciness. In another place he mentions the *Nyaungye* Festival which also takes place usually on the full moon day of the same month. He also speaks of the expiry of summer and the advent of the rainy season while referring to the celebration of the usual Lenten Festival at the golden City on the full moon day of Wazo (July). From these facts it can be gathered that his stay at Mèza covers a period of not less than two months. Such being the case, Saya Thein's record does not appear to be wholly reliable. So, in the absence of some tangible proof to the contrary we are inclined to

accept the testimony of three independent records which attribute the date of the poem to Naungdawgyi's reign.

But whatever may be the date of the poem and the period of the poet's exile, one point upon which all records are agreed and which may therefore be taken to be definitely settled is that the poem was written by Letwèthondara while he was in exile at Mèza for an act which gave offence to his King.

The purpose of the poem which is evident to all, was to bring about the liberation of the poet. It was therefore composed in such a beautiful and pathetic style as would appeal touchingly to the King to whom it was presented. It is said that it had the desired effect. The poet was at once recalled and former honours were eventually restored to him.

The poem coming down to us with the halo of such a tradition has proved to be immensely popular. But it owes its popularity mainly to the most exquisite and simple and yet the most expressive and touching style in which it is written. We must however go below the surface to get at its full sentiment and meaning. So, an attempt is made here to give an explanation by means of illuminating notes.

The original of the poem is found to be so corrupt in some places that it is thought best to bring out an emended text collated from six different readings. This text with a free translation in rhythmic prose based on those notes and made by Maung Ba Han, M. A., Myoòk and Assistant Government Translator, Burma Secretariat, is published here.

First Verse:—The seat of the poem being at Mèza, a small town or village situated at a considerable distance to the north of the old town of Shwebo, the poet begins his poem thus:—*မဇာတောင်ခြေ၊ စီးထွေထွေတည်၊ မြစ်ရေဝန်းလည်၊ မြိုင်တောစည်က၊ ရွှေပြည်ကိုသာ၊ တရှာတော့မိ။*

It may be noticed that the last expression တရှာတော့မိ has a special significance. It expresses the poet's pathetic state of mind which is the seat of a conflict between loyalty to his king and love for home or the city in which he used to reside. Loyalty bids him accept his punishment without a murmur and serve his time, and yet he happens to long for home unwittingly.

The word တ simply means to long or sigh for some object which in this case is the city of Shwebo.

Each of the affixes ရှာ and တော့ also has a special force in itself.

ရှာ denotes sympathy with some one else other than the speaker, but here it is used with reference to the poet himself in order to show the intensity of the great clash of feelings in his mind viz., love for home on the one hand and loyalty to his King on the other. Hence his sympathy for himself.

တော့ in this connection has the force of an irresistible feeling; and မိ implies fault on the part of the person who has done though unconsciously something forbidden. In the present case the fault, which is purely moral, lies in having a burning desire on the part of the poet to go back to the City instead of quietly remaining where he has been made to stay.

The above is an instance of exquisiteness of expression which the poet preserves throughout.

ဘိုးတော်ကောင်းမှ၊ တည်ထားပြီသည်၊ ဇေယျံဆီမီး၊ ခြောက် ရောင် ညီး မှ၊ ဂူ ကြီး ယ ခ င်။ This refers to the Shwegugyi shrine built by Alaungpaya's father Siri Maha Dhamma Raja who is described here as *Bodaw* (Grand Sire) as he is the grand-father

of both Naungdawgyi and Sinbyushin. The *Mahayazawindawgyi* barely ascribes the regilding of this shrine—the Gugyi-thakin of the poem—to Alaungpaya. It is therefore plain that the shrine must have been in existence before Alaungpaya's reign. Consequently, its erection is tacitly attributed to his father Siri Maha Dhamma Raja who was the Myōza of Mōksobo (Shwebo) under Hanthawaddy-ba Min, the last king of the Nyaungyan line which immediately preceded the Alaungpaya dynasty.

Of the three other shrines mentioned in the poem the construction of the Shwelinbin and the Shwe-chin-the-mwe can be traced to the two images brought to Mōksobo (Shwebo) by King Narapadi Sithu of Pagan; while the Shwezedigyí was built by Alaungpaya himself.

The Shwe-chin-the-mwe (the golden lion's heritage) is the same as the Shwe-taza shrine. Legend has it that the spot on which it stands was the haunt of a lion, the embryo Gotama Buddha in the early stage of his cycle of existences. The poet probably had this in mind when he coined the new name.

ဓမ္မုဒ္ဓိယံ at first view would appear to be the name of a shrine. But it is not. It is a metaphorical name for Buddha and it means "the Lamp of Jambudipa." Sir Edwin Arnold employs a similar metaphor in the title of his poem on Gotama Buddha, viz., "The Light of Asia." Each *Sakkavāla* or "World System" of Buddhist cosmogony has four *Maha Dipas* (great islands or continents), to wit, Pubbavideha, Jambudipa, Aparagoya and Uttarakuru. It is only in Jambudipa that Buddhas can come to perfection.

ခြောက်ရောင်ညွှန်း means "as if radiant with six kindred rays." So the whole expression ဓမ္မုဒ္ဓိယံ ခြောက်ရောင်ညွှန်း means "as if radiant with the six kindred rays possessed by Buddha." Now, this expression qualifies all the shrines mentioned in the poem.

The remaining part of the verse shows that the poet desiring to see the city of Shwebo with all its shrines and the golden palace conjures up a mental picture of those edifices as they stand.

Second Verse:—In the second verse the poet brings into contrast the beauty and splendour of the natural scenes of the land of his birth with the gloom and awe of Mēza.

တက္ကန်းလောက်ဝင်း၊ လေးမည်တင်ခဲ့။ The allusion is to one of the four great Islands or Continents other than the one in which the poet was born.

The expression ထင်ထင်ထွန်းထွန်း—not ထင်ထင်ထွန်းထွန်း—is made up of ထင်ထင် and ထွန်း and ဘိ။

ထင်ထင် is an archaic word which means "visible to the eye." (Cf. မျက်မြင် ထင်ထင်၊ ယခုတစ်ခဏ။ *Kogan Pyo*, verse 3).

ထွန်း here means "to appear;" and ဘိ is a euphonic affix, but here used with an ironical stress. The whole expression therefore means "The Mēza river appears conspicuous in very deed ! ! !"

ကင်းစမ်းတောင်က၊ လေးဦးစွန့်၊ နောက်မှလေ့ရှိ၊ အတည်တည်သည်။ ။လေပြည်လာကအေးလောကြောင်း။ The word ကင်းစမ်း like ကင်းတောက် or ကင်းထိုး means an advance post detailed for the purposes of a reconnaissance. It is here applied to the wind which blows as a prelude to the coming season—the rains. (Cf. ကင်းစမ်းထိုးသော်စိန်အားခန်းပြည်၊ ဦးတည်တိုင်အောင်၊ စနောင်စနင်၊ ဘင်းဝင်ရောက်နိုး။ Yodaya Mibaya's *Egyin*, verse 45; and

လူသူဘောင်ဝယ်။ ရေယောင်ရေသင့်။ ရေခွင့်ရေလို။ ကပ်မြောင်ခို၍။ သူလျှိုကင်းစမ်း။ အရိပ်ဖမ်းလျက်။ ကြောင်းလမ်းပြီးမှ။ တိုက်ယူရမူ။ *Byuhasetki Pyo*, verse beginning with—ရိပ်ခြည်ထောင်။)

တောင်က means "from the south." Here the poet evidently refers to the seasonal wind which blows from the south in Kasôn (May) in this country. The opening expression ပွဲခါညောင်ရေ (*Nyaungye Festival*) in the next verse makes the meaning more clear as this Festival usually takes place in Kasôn. Now, the wind that blows in Kasôn comes from the south. Witness the three expressions ကဆုန်ညောင်ရေ။—တဟုန်တောင်လေ။ and ဝသုန်အောင်မြေ။ each of which opens each verse of a *Radu*.

In လေပြည်လာက အေးသောကြောင့်။ the same seasonal wind is referred to. 'The poet complains of the shrewdness of the southerly breeze and speaks of it as his sorrow's crowning sorrow.'

Third Verse:—The third verse describes two distinct aspects of Mèza Hill, viz., the beautiful and the gloomy. At the *Nyaungye Festival* the hill looks delightful with its golden cave and its gay crowd of worshippers. At times it is wrapped in mist-like vapour and it appears forbidding. The gloom is so thick that the sun is unable to make his appearance. Consequently, the poet describes his anxious vigil for the noontide in order to bask in the beaming rays of the sun.

ပွဲခါညောင်ရေ။ သွန်းမြီပေတည့်။ The allusion is to the customary festival of pouring water upon shrines, an annual festival usually observed by the King in the month of Kasôn.

ယုဂ်ထင်ရှား။ တောင်တော်ဖျားက။ ရထားယဉ်သာ။ နေစကြာလည်း။ This refers to the sun who is said to drive his chariot round Mt. Meru beginning his course from the summit of Mt. Yugandara, one of the seven concentric circles of rock around Mt. Meru.

ချမ်းရှာလွန်း၍။ Here also the affix ရှာ which signifies "sympathy" applies to the poet himself.

နေခြည်မြာမှနွေးသောကြောင့်။ The force of မှ here and that of က in လေပြည်လာကအေးသောကြောင့်။ in the preceding verse may be noted. Both affixes express point of time, but the former has the added sense of "only."

Fourth Verse:—In the fourth verse the poet sighs for his home while looking at the bright cool moon. A fit of deep sadness comes creeping over his heart owing to his eagerness to get back to the golden City. He complains of the desolation and dreariness of Mèza and adds that the place has a different climate and speaks a strange tongue. Then, he goes into raptures over the city of Ratanatheinga which is another name for Shwebo.

ဝေရှန်းစန္ဒာ။ ခမ်းရိပ်သာသို့။ This refers to the moon which is said to be ruby within and silver without. Hence its great coolness. This is why the poet calls the moon ခမ်းရိပ်သာ. စန္ဒာ is a Pâli word for the moon.

ဇမ္ဗူအောင်ခန်း။ ရွှေဘုံနန်းသို့။ The city of Shwebo is here referred to as the place where successes of all kinds in Jambudipa can be achieved.

ရွှေညာဖျားလည်း။ literally means "the farthest end of the golden up-country." The ironical use of ရွှေ (golden) here may be noticed. The poet expresses his dislike for the place by calling it ရွှေညာ (the golden up-country).

ကျွန်းကြီးချက်ချာ။ Here the same city of Shwebo is referred to again as the dominant centre of the great Island—Jambudipa.

သိပ်အောင်မြေ၊ လယ်ချက်မွေဝယ်။ This means—in the heart of Ratana-theinga, the vantage ground, that is Shwebo. Ratana-theinga is one of the four other names by which the city of Shwebo is known, the remaining three being Mòksobo (မုဆိုးပို), Yangyi-aung (ရန်ကြီးအောင်) and Kônbaung (ကုန်းပေါင်).

Fifth Verse:—The fifth verse commences with a vivid description of the exceedingly fine scenery presented by the royal palace bathed in the rays of the setting sun. It concludes by mentioning how the poet recalls to his mind some of the pleasant scenes about the gates of the city which is surrounded by moats and rivers.

နေဝန်းဖန်ဝါ၊ ထိန်စကြာလည်း။ The reference here is to the declining sun. နေဝန်း is the solar orb or the sun. ဖန်ဝါ (glass colour) is a popular epithet for the sun. Terms such as နေဖန်ဝါ and ခေါင်းဖန်ဝါ are often used in songs and poems in alluding to it. In poetic prose these two are sometimes combined, as witness နေဖန်ဝါခေါင်း။ ဂေါရာသို့စောင်းလှပေ။ (Now the sun is about to turn to the west).

The words နေ and ခေါင်း are synonymous, the latter being the emblem of the former.

အဝါ is an archaic word which simply means "colour"; and the sun is said to be composed of gold inside and crystal outside. This is the reason why the sun is said to be of "glass colour." Several texts have နေဝန်းဖန်ပြာ။ But it does not make sense in this connection.

In ထိန်စကြာ the word ထိန် refers to the West Island. It is the name of the tree which is believed to stand at the northern extremity of that Island of which it is the emblem. Each of the other three great Islands has a similar emblematic tree.

စကြာ means "wheel" or "disc" i. e. the sun. ထိန်စကြာ therefore has the sense of "the wheel of the West Island." It is so described because the setting sun of our Island (Jambudipa) is at its zenith in the West Island and is thereby considered the exclusive possession of that Island. To have a clear notion of this metaphor, the path in which the sun moves must be borne in mind. This luminary gives light to the four great Islands in the following manner:—

When three of them receive light the fourth is in utter darkness. (သုံးကျွန်းလင်းမှိုက်၊ တကျွန်းမှိုက်). When it is sunset in our Jambudipa, the South Island, it is mid-day in the West Island, sunrise in the North Island and mid-night in the East Island and so on, the movement being clockwise.

In some texts instead of ထိန်စကြာ we find ယဉ်စကြာ which seems to be appropriate at first sight. But considering that the most strikingly beautiful scenery can be created by the sun only when it is about to set, we should prefer ထိန်စကြာ above ယဉ်စကြာ။

အာကာသိတ်စီး၊ ကျွန်းလုံးညီးမျှ။ Here the poet refers to the brightness of the sky caused by the setting sun whose rays spill over and stream down from the vault of heaven, thereby lighting up almost the whole Island. အာကာ is a Pāli word which means "sky," and သိတ်စီး simply means "to brim over."

ထိန်းမိုးလယ်၊ ဖြိုးဖြိုးကယ်၍။ အံ့တွယ်ယှက်သန်း။ ရှုမခန်းတည့်။ ရွှေခန်းမှိုက်။ All these refer to the palace of gold and glass whose reflected light rises to meet the sun's rays.

ထိန်းမိုးလယ်၊ ဖြိုးဖြိုးကယ်၍။ Some texts have ထိန်းမိုးလယ်၊ တိန်းမိုးလယ်။ which means "clouds hang down to mid-air." But the idea would be obviously absurd as

clouds cannot hang low when the sky is bright and clear. So မြို့မြို့ကယ်၍ (to rise in volumes) is more in keeping with ထိန်းမိုးလယ် (to mid-air) in sense.

သုဇာသာဝံ။ မိတ်နံမပြား။ ဓါတ်တံခါး၏။ This alludes to the gates of the city of Shwebo which are ten in number, viz.:—

(1)	ဣန္ဒာ	—Einda	} on the east.
(2)	ဆင်ပြူ	—Sinbyu	
(3)	သုဇာ	—Thuza	
(4)	ကုန်းဘောင်	—Kônbaung	} on the south.
(5)	ရန်(မြို့)မှိုင်း	—Yan(myo)hnein	
(6)	ဇေယာ	—Zeya	
(7)	ကရဝိတ်	—Karaweik	} on the west.
(8)	ရန်(ကြီး)အောင်	—Yan(gyi)aung	
(9)	လှိုင်သာ	—Hlaingtha	
(10)	မုံအာ	—Môn-a	} on the north.

သုဇာ is the name of one of the eastern gates which we have just mentioned. သာဝံ simply means “enjoyable” and is here used in an adjectival sense qualifying both သုဇာ and တံခါး။

မိတ်နံမပြား can be split into မိတ်—နံ and မပြား။ မိတ် means “friendship” or “companionship.” နံ is an astrological term which means “day of the week;” and မပြား means “not differing,” i. e. “in harmony.” The whole expression therefore signifies that “(the twin words which go to make the name of each gate are identified with) companion days which are in harmony.”

ဓါတ် in ဓါတ်တံခါး is another astrological term which means “attribute or quality” and it conveys a sense similar to the foregoing with regard to the matching of days.

It will be seen below that all these terms are associated with the naming of the gates of the city of Shwebo.

For the purposes of astrology the 42 letters of the Burmese alphabet are arranged into seven groups, any letter of each representing each of the seven days of the week, thus:—

(1)	အ။ အာ။ ဣ။ ဤ။ ဥ။ ဦ။ ဧ။ အဲ။ ဩ။ or ဩဝ။ ဩဝ်။	..	Sunday.
(2)	က။ ခ။ ဂ။ ဃ။ င။	.. ..	Monday.
(3)	စ။ ဆ။ ဇ။ ဈ။ ည။	.. ..	Tuesday.
(4)	ဋ။ ဌ။ ဒူ။ စာ။ ကာ။—တ။ ဝာ။ ဒါ။ ဓ။ န။	.. ..	Saturday.
(5)	ပ။ ဖ။ ဗ။ ဘ။ မ။	.. ..	Thursday.
(6)	ယ။ ရ။ လ။ ဝ။ ဌ။	.. ..	Wednesday.
(7)	သ။ တ။	.. ..	Friday.

Now, any letter of each group with all its inflected forms and variations stands for the day shown against it.

In choosing a fitting mate for a person we have to take into account the days on which the prospective couple were born and there is the following formula to guide us in such matters:—အောင်ပ—ကုလား—ဆွေသား—တော်ရင်း။ မိတ်ဘက်ခြင်း။

The meaning of this is that each pair အ and ဝ၊ က and လ၊ ဆ and သ၊ တ and ရ၊ makes a happy union.

Again to secure a happy match resulting from congeniality of ဓါတ် (attribute or quality) the following two rules have to be observed:—

(1) အန္တော၊ *ဂဗ္ဘေ၊ စရေ၊ *ဝိသေ၊ and

(2) ဥသာ၊ ဖိနိပနံ၊ ဒန်းလှ၊ ကိဋ္ဌာ၊

Combinations of အ and တ၊ ဂ and ဘ၊ စ and ရ၊ and ဝ and သ in (1), and of ဥ and သ၊ စ and ဝ၊ ဒ and လ၊ and က and ရ in (2), form happy companionships.

Now, if we examine the names of the gates of Shwebo we shall see that all of them conform to either of the above three rules. It follows then that a name so chosen even for an inanimate object portends good. It appears that this was a popular belief in times gone by though it may now be regarded by some as superstition. It is quite clear therefore that the poet refers to not only *Thusa* but also all the names of the other gates of the city when he says သုဇာသာဏံ၊ မိတ်နံမပြား၊ ဓါတ်တံခါး၏။

It may not be out of place to mention here the two rules which warn us against evil results in wedlock.

One of these runs:—ဓမ္မာ၊ သောက၊ အင်းဝ၊ †ရာဇာ၊ အိမ်ထောင်ဘက်၊ အသက်ရှည်ရာ။ (The union of Saturday and Thursday, Friday and Monday, Sunday and Wednesday, or Wednesday and Tuesday means short life.)

The other is ဥဋ္ဌိ၊ †ခေမာ၊ သုတာ၊ ဝေရီ၊ ရန်စည်စည်။ (The coming together of Sunday and Tuesday, Monday and Thursday, Friday and Saturday or Wednesday and Wednesday spells cat-and-dog life.)

ယွန်းစားရှေ့မှာ။ Both slantwise and opposite; that is to say “round about the city gates.”

Sixth Verse:—It is only in the sixth and last verse that the poet alludes to his wife and children whom he left at Shwebo. The reason for this is obvious enough. In order to achieve his motive for writing the poem he has to touch with a keen edge the gentler emotions of its reader—the King—and awake the tenderest feeling shared in common by all men, which is to say attachment to one's wife and child.

နှစ်ကျွန်းသန်ကာ၊ ချိန်ခါကို။ The meaning of this is “at this time of the year when the rains have set in after Summer has run out.”

ကျွန်း here means “to expire, to exhaust or to be out.” သန် stands for the Pâli word ဝသန္တ “the rains” and ကာ for the Pâli ကာလ which means “time.”

ညွန့်ပြီကျိုး ဆက်၊ ဆယ်ကျော်သက်ကာ၊ ကြင်ဘက်အတူ၊ တောင်းဆုယူသည်။ အိမ်သူချောသွယ်။ သုံးယောက်မယ်နှင့်။ This refers to the poet's wife.

ညွန့်ပြီကျိုးဆက်။ This means that their union as husband and wife is the result of their meritorious deeds which they performed together in their former existences.

ဆယ်ကျော်သက်ကာ၊ ကြင်ဘက်အတူ၊ is to be understood that when their marriage took place she was in her teens.

* ဂ and ဝ stand for those who were born before noon on Wednesdays and Mondays respectively.

† ရ and ခ stand for those who were born after noon on Wednesdays and Mondays respectively.

သုံးယောက်မယ် simply means "mother of three children." From the expression သားမောင်နှမ which we find further on we know that the poet has children of both sexes, but it is not clear who are in the majority.

နှစ်ပါးမျက်ခြည် သားနှင်းရည် refers to the son or sons. နှစ်ပါးမျက်ခြည် literally means "parent-pleasing sight." We have several like expressions used in this sense, viz., "နှစ်ပါးမျက်ရှု" "နှစ်ပါးမျက်ပွင့်" "နှစ်ပါးမျက်မှန်" etc.

Po BYU.

I.

မဲဇာတောင်ခြေ။ စီးတွေတွေတည့်။ မြစ်ရေဝန်းလည်။ မြိုင်တောစည်က။ ရွှေပြည်ကိုသာ။ တရှာတော့မိ။ မိုးရှိရှိလျှင်။ သီရိကြက်သရေ။ တက်ပြီးဝေသာ။ အောင်မြေကြော့ကြော့။ ကုန်းမော့မော့နှင့်။ ဘိုးတော်ကောင်းမှု။ တည်ထားပြီသည်။ ဇေယျသီမီး။ ခြောက်ရောင်ညှိုးမျှ။ ဂူကြီးသခင်။ ရွှေလင်းပင်နှင့်။ ရွှေခြင်္သေ့မွှေး။ စ၍ရေသော်။ ရွှေစေတီကြီး။ အသီးသီးတည့်။ ပိတ်ဆီးချယ်သန်း။ လျှပ်ရောင်တန်းမျှ။ ရွှေနန်းရွှေဘုံ။ အလုံးစုံကို။ အာရုံမျက်မြင်။ ဖူးမြော်ချင်၍။ သည်တွင်ရွှေမြို့။ သည်သို့စေတီ။ သည်ဆီရွှေနန်း။ မြောင့်တန်းတော့မည်။ စိတ်ကရည်သည်။ ။ရွှေပြည်ဌာနဝေးသောကြောင့်။

From the wooded foot of Mèza Hill girt with its gushing stream my heart pants for the distant City of gold. Behold! The fold of the stars glows with the stately splendour of the conquest-crowned eminence graced with sacred fabrics. They stand out resplendent in six kindred rays like Zabudipa's luminous Lamp. First in order shines Gugyi-thakin—Grand Sire's golden deed. Next I proceed to tell on single hand other associate shrines—Shwe-linbin, Shwe-chin-the-mwe, Shwe-ze-digyi. The gay galaxy set off by the brave palace's hue, lights up the air like repeated flashes across the blue. My songless heart sighs for a sight of these haunting scenes. Alas! Alas! because the City is afar, I call up the old familiar views and fancy to myself "Here is the City, there are the shrines and over there lies the palace."

II.

သဲသာသောင်မြေ။ မြစ်ကမ်းခြေလည်။ အကြွေတပြင်။ တို့အောက်ခွင်ဝယ်။ ရေရှင်ပတ်ဝန်း။ ပျော်ဘွယ်ထွန်းလိမ့်။ တကျွန်းလောက်ပင်။ ဝေးမည်ထင်ခဲ့။ စီးသွင်ညိုရစ်။ မဲဇာမြစ်လည်။ ထစ်ထစ်ထွန်းဘိ။ ချုံအတိနှင့်။ တောကြီးဆိတ်ညံ့။ ဆီးကျံကျံဝယ်။ မူဝံမပေါ်။ မမြော်ပါရ။ နေကိုတလည်။ ဘယ်ကရွှေနောက်။ ဘယ်တောင်မြောက်ဟု။ တွေးထောက်မမှန်။ ဖန်ဖန်အံ့သြ။ ကြံတိုင်းမော့စွ။ ဘယ်တောဘယ်မြိုင်။ မသိနိုင်ခဲ့။ မခိုင်စိတ်ဝမ်း။ နေ့တိုင်းလွမ်းရှင်။ ကင်းစမ်းတောင်က။ လေဦးစ၍။ နောက်မှလေရှည်။ အတည်တည်သည်။ ။ လေပြည်လာကအေးသောကြောင့်။

The lovely river of the lower region abounds in sandy shoals ringed about with the enclaspings flow. What a soul-enchancing sight to see! To me, it seems as remote as a far-off isle. And here, the clear-cut Mèza river clad with thickets and tinged with a darksome tint, flows through the soundless forest that is folded in mist. The Pole-star lies hidden far from sight while I groan for a glimpse of the glorious sun. My bearings I take in vain, and again and again deep amazement invades my shattered senses. I sink and sink under the stress of thought and the sylvan shades wear a baffling air. An early breath of southerly breeze heralds the approach of seasonal winds.

My mind reels and my feeling heart is filled with fadeless longings because of the chilling breeze.

III.

ပွဲခါညောင်ရေ။ သွန်းမြပေတည့်။ ရိုသေသဒ္ဓါ။ လုံးစဉ်လာဖြင့်။ မဲဇာရပ်သူ။ တောင်းဆုယူသည်။ ရွှေ
ဂူတော်နှင့်။ ရှုတိုင်းတင့်သာ။ မိုးမြင့်သီခေါင်။ မဲဇာချောင်က။ တတောင်လုံးမှိုင်း။ စ၍ဆိုင်းသော်။ တောင်
တိုင်းယှက်၍။ ဝန်းကာဝေသည်။ တောင်ငွေ့ဝေဝေ။ အထွေထွေနှင့်။ လေလည်းရောရာ။ မိုးမပါဘဲ။ သံဝါ
ဖြောက်ဖြောက်။ ဆီးနှင်းပေါက်လည်း။ မိုးလောက်ပြင်းထန်။ သွန်းချပြန်သော်။ ယုဂန်ထင်ရှား။ တောင်တော်
ဖျားက။ ရထားယဉ်သာ။ နေစကြာလည်း။ ရောင်ဝါမထွန်း။ ချမ်းရှာလွန်း၍။ တည့်မွန်းချိန်နေ။ ရောက်လွယ်
စေဟူ။ စေ့ရေလှည့်လည်။ တလျက်မြည်သည်။ ။နေခြည်ဖြာမှနွေးသောကြောင့်။

The residents of Mèza cling to hoary custom and hold the *Nyaungye* carnival. A motley crew in reverent awe and ardent faith pray before the Golden Cave that lends endless charms to the cloud-kissed height rising from the heart of Mèza Glen. The self-same mountain is shrouded in gloom and its exhalations wreath themselves round every range. The sullen scene seems one welded mass. Again, with no trace of rain, the soft wind whistles and snow-flakes fall fast and thick like heavy showers. You may even hear the drip-drop ring through the air. And Phoebus' fair chariot coursing its daily round from Yugan's crown, ceases to fling its flying flames. When it is biting cold, I wait and watch for the noon-day light, because the dancing beams of the clear-shining sun imparts the needful warmth. Meanwhile, flitting fancies help kill the leaden-footed hours.

IV.

ဝေရွန်းစန္ဒာ။ ချမ်းရိပ်သာသို့။ မျက်နှာတူရူ။ တသည့်သူလျှင်။ ဇမ္ဗူအောင်ခန့်။ ရွှေဘုံနန်းသို့။ ရောက်
ပန်းကြီးအင်။ နေမရှင်ခွဲ။ လွင်လည်းတဆိုင်။ မြိုင်လည်းတထူး။ ဝေးခေါင်ကျူးကို။ ရောက်ဘူးမည်ထား။ ရွှေ
ညာဖျားဟူ။ ရှေးဖျားမဆွ။ ကြားရသည်သာ။ ဘယ်ရပ်မှာဟူ။ ခြင်းရာတစ်။ တပ်မသိခွဲ။ ကျွန်းကြီးချက်ချာ။
တို့နေရာနှင့်။ ဘာသာကွဲလမ်း။ မြိုင်တောဝှမ်းဝယ်။ အချမ်းမတူ။ အပူမမှ။ ကြိုတိရရှင်။ သိပ်အောင်မြေ။
နန်းချက်ဗွေဝယ်။ နေလည်းတဆန်။ နန်းလည်းတခြာ။ မထွေပြားဘဲ။ ကိုးပါးနဝရတ်။ ရွှေပြာသာဒ်က။
မျက်မြက်လျှံရည်။ ထွန်းလင်းလည်သည်။ ။နေခြည်ထဲတွင်ပါလိမ့်မည်။

Cynthia's silver orb fills the sky with its soft and splendid light. I gaze on its crystal face and a wild desire like despair seizes my sorrow-laden breast. I burn and burn to see the gates of the regal City—Zabudipa's vantage-ground. Painful decree dooms me to a distant land of plains and woods. Ere now, my feet never had strayed into the ill-starred soil, nay in sunny bygone times I had yet to learn the lie of the land which rumour styled the remotest region of the Upper Province. But now, bitter experience unfolds a place poles apart from our hearth and home—the hub of the universe. Here, they speak an alien tongue and the climate of the tree-clad land is far different from our own. In Yatana-theinga, the triumphant City the palace matches the sun in brilliancy to such a degree that one can never tell the two apart. It is because the nine jewels of the golden turret shed swift shafts of light that blend with the sun's flaring beams.

V.

နေဝန်းဖန်ဝါ။ ထိန်စကြာလည်း။ အာကာဘိတ်စီး။ ကျွန်းလုံးညီးမျှ။ ထိန်းမိုးလယ်။ ဖြိုးဖြိုးကယ်၍။
အံ့တွယ်ယှက်သန်း။ ရှုမခန်းတည်း။ ရှုနန်းမှန်စီ။ ရှိရာဆီသို့။ မြှောက်ချဦးတင်။ စက်ရာဝင်လည်း။ ကြည်လင်
ရှိခိုး။ စက်ရာနိုးလည်း။ လက်မိုးလှည့်လည်။ မျှော်မိသည်ရှင့်။ ရှေ့ပြည်တော်မှာ။ ခုချိန်ခါကို။ သူဇာသာစံ။
မိတ်နံမပြား။ ဓာတ်တံခါး၏။ ယွန်းစားရှေ့မှာ။ ပျော်ဘွယ်သာရှင့်။ သီတာပတ်ကုံး။ မြစ်နှင့်ကျုံးလည်း။ တ
လုံးတည်းရေး။ စီးတွေတွေတည်း။ မိုးရွေ့မခေါင်။ လက်ျာမြှောင်လျက်။ နတ်ဆောင်ယူပို့။ လေ၏သို့လျှင်။ ရှေ့
မြို့ရှေ့ပြည်။ ဝန်းပတ်လည်သည်။ ။ရေကြည်သဲပြင်သာလိမ့်မည်။

When the fire-swathed sun slopes its westerling wheel, its radiant rays meet at mid-air the fiery flashes of the picturesque palace of gold set with glass. The wondrous fusion of the fierce flames floods the sky of almost all the Isle with a brilliant light. At night I retire to rest and lift up pious hands towards the place where the goodly palace stands. Thither, with like devotion my gaze is drawn when I awake at dawn. At this time in the Golden City, the scene before the gladsome gates bearing well-omened companion names—witness Thuza—must surely afford a pleasurable view. The glancing river conjoins with the gleaming fosse and forms a crystal current. In sun and shower, the silvery flow speeds and winds from left to right its water-cleft way round the City. The rapturous scene suggests the hand of *Nats*. Indeed, the amber waters with the shifting sands will look fair to the gazer's eye.

VI.

နွေကျွန်းသန်ကာ။ ခုချိန်ခါကို။ ကျောင်းသာရာမ်ခင်။ စေတီတွင်းဝယ်။ သတင်းအလှူ။ ရှေ့ပြည်သူ
တို့။ ဆုယူစည်းဝေး။ ဖြူဖြူဖွေးလိမ့်။ စက်မှေးခိုက်တွင်။ အိပ်မက်မြင်သို့။ မရှင်ယူတ။ လွမ်းလိုက်လှရှင့်။ ညွှန်
ပြကျိုးဆက်။ ဆယ်ကျော်သက်က။ ကြင်ဘက်အတူ။ တောင်းဆုယူသည်။ အိမ်သူချောသွယ်။ သုံးယောက်
မယ်နှင့်။ ပင်လယ်ခြားရာ။ ခရီးကွာသို့။ မှာလည်းမကြား။ သွားလည်းမသင့်။ ဖြစ်သဖြင့်လျှင်။ ပူခွင့်ရှည်ရေး။
ရှိချေသေး၏။ ရင်သွေးရွှေတောင်။ သားမောင်နှမ။ ဆင်းသိက်တို့။ မွေးဘရင်ခွင်။ ရှေ့လက်တင်၍။ ယူငင်ပိုက်
ခြား။ ဖျော်မည်သားနှင့်။ နှစ်ပါးမျက်ခြည်။ သားနှင်းရည်သည်။ ။ရှေ့လည်ဆွဲချင်ရှာလိမ့်မည်။

At this season, the sultriness of summer is over and the ripple of rain is heard. In the Golden City, a goodly crowd clad in spotless white are at their devotions in the cool courts of serene cloisters and shrines. There, sacred duty and fervent charity are made to live in deeds of gold. As in a dream, this fair vision flashes across my feeble mind. Sadness bends me and my heavy heart goes back to my own house and home where my winsome wife thrice blest with child spends her cheerless nights. While her life was yet in early bloom, Fate's unerring hand made her mine by reason of our common deed in the dateless past. Hard circumstance tears us clean asunder. As if she lives overseas, I may not greet her face, no, nor send her word. This gives added keenness to my pain. Had Fortune been kinder, the children of my bosom whose beauty glistens like gold, would be rapt within my breast to my supreme delight. Yea, my sons who appeal to parents' mind and eye and sweeten their air like the water of roses, will doubtless long to hang about my neck.

NOTES AND REVIEWS.

A NOTE ON LETWE-THONDARA'S POEM.

We hope that readers of this Journal will appreciate U Po Byu's illuminating notes on the above mentioned poem. We feel it our pleasant duty to acknowledge our indebtedness to him for offering us points of difference in our own interpretation of the text published in Vol. VI part I. We now proceed to record these points:—

In the first verse we like the view that the Gugyi shrine was built by Alaungpaya's father and not by himself and should consider it true if it could be proved on Archaeological and other grounds. From the literary point of view, we might even defend our own translation by saying that if the shrine was reguilt by Alaungpaya, then it was one of "the meritorious deeds of the Grand Sire (Alaungpaya)" just as much as the actual building of it by his father would be. If, on the other hand, the view that the poem was written for presentation to Prince Singu, were correct, then the *Bodaw*, grandfather, would be Alaungpaya, and not his father.

With regard to ခဉ္စန္ဒီ we regret that we are not convinced that it means "the Lamp of Jambudīpa" merely because "Sir Edwin Arnold employs a similar metaphor in the title of his poem on Gotama Buddha." We appeal to our Archaeologists for decision.

In the second verse we agree with U Po Byu in referring ဘုရား to one of the three other Great Islands of Buddhist Cosmogony and not to the Andamans which we have used only for a realistic effect. But "a far-off isle" of the new translation by Maung Ba Han is just as bad a rendering as "the Andamans" in that it absolutely fails to suggest to the reader the desired allusion. For all we know "a far-off isle" (note the article) might mean Japan or the British Isles to the reader. If, therefore, the allusion is to one of the three other Great Islands of Buddhist Cosmogony (for their names please consult Childers's Pali Dictionary) and not to Japan, the British Isles or "the Andamans" let us have it in plain prose in the translation. We are obliged to U Po Byu for pointing out that တင်းစင်းတောင် is not the name of a mountain as we have thought.

In the fifth verse we have probably mistaken ဘဝံ and ခိဝံ for gates. We are again indebted to U Po Byu for his explanation.

These are the points on which the present translation differs materially from the former. It is much to be regretted that—much as we like the present amended text—the original readings of the six different texts from which it has been made have not been offered for our examination. Half the value of a critical edition of a well-known text lies in faithfully recording—in foot-notes for instance—all the different readings of the various texts from which it has been collated.

—Editor.

CORRESPONDENCE ON BUDDHIST WILLS.

Dear U Shway Thwin,

Thanks for your letter dated the 8th January 1917, about Buddhist Wills. The question is of great interest to me and of extreme importance to the Burmese Community.

2. In the absence of testamentary power, wealth is not stable among the Burmans: it is frittered away in litigation. The Burmans live surrounded by Europeans, Indians, and Chinese, who all possess the testamentary power, and enjoy a better position in their struggle for existence: they have the force of capital and combination at their back. We should study the history of the Parsis of Bombay, who, through timely legislation regarding marriage and wills, became the foremost community in India.

3. The three Resolutions passed by the Public Meeting held at Moulmein on the 31st December 1916 appear to be quite in accord with the educated and advanced opinion prevailing in Upper and Lower Burma. In a Burmese family, the husband is the နှိပ်သူ or bread-winner, and is the "Lord of the wife" in a patriarchal sense. The wife is the နှိပ်ခံ or dependant; and so is the မြေးခင် child. All property acquired during coverture is joint, but in respect to it, the husband occupies a higher status than the wife. During the life-time of both husband and wife, testamentary power should be vested in the former; but on the death of the husband, it should be vested in the wife.

4. The Burmese legal maxim, "The husband is the lord of the wife" embodies a legal fiction implying the superiority of the husband over the wife in strength, intelligence, organization, capacity, and judgment. It is not, however, justifiable to draw the inference that "The wife is the slave of the husband" using the term "slave" in its primary signification. The position of women has, no doubt, risen in Burma, but that they have become the equals of their husbands has not been universally admitted.

5. You suggest that the views of the Burmese women on the question should also be ascertained. Your suggestion is scarcely feasible. Burmese women are inarticulate and do not know how to formulate their views.

6. Polygamy is not a valid bar to the proposed legislation, as it prevails among the Hindus, Muhammadans, and Chinese, who all enjoy the testamentary power.

7. You propose that "if legislation is undertaken, the testamentary power should be given to both the husband and wife and limited only to their *thinthi* property, and that, with regard to the joint property, the power should only be exercised by the husband and wife jointly, and it should not affect the rights of the *auratha* child." If the testamentary power is confined only to *thinthi* property, it will become valueless, because such property is of limited value. Such power should extend over both kinds of property: *thinthi* as well as joint. Over all property the testamentary power of the husband should be exercised, in consultation with the wife, but the consent of the wife should not be a *sine qua non*. A reservation may however, be made that, during the life-time of the husband, the wife may will away her own *thinthi* property, and that, on his death, the testamentary power over the whole estate

is vested in her. The rights of the *auratha* child arise only after the death of either parent; and they lie dormant during the life-time of both. It is the duty of the surviving parent to respect such rights so far as they are compatible with the rights of the younger children.

Yours sincerely,

TAW SEIN KO.

Mandalay, 12th January, 1917.

U SHWAY THWIN,

Plcader, Moulmein.

BURMAN BUDDHIST WILLS.

INTRODUCTORY:—The topic of the day is whether Burman Buddhists should be allowed to dispose of their property by Wills and various officials and societies have been asked by the Local Government to express their opinions on the subject. For this purpose, meetings are being held throughout the province and in furtherance of this object a meeting was convened by U Kyaw Yan, A. T. M., at the Buddhist school, Mandalay, on Sunday, the 4th February, 1917. At that meeting I had the honour of expressing my views on the subject of the desirability or otherwise of conferring by legislation the testamentary power on Buddhists in Burma, and I was one of those who were against the making of Wills *in toto*. In my speech, I have set out reasons in full and quoted all the available authorities, both judicial and textual, on the question in issue. This was absolutely necessary in view of the divergent views among our countrymen on the point.

It will be observed that I have endeavoured to show that the advantages that are likely to result from any legislative grant of such a power are more than outweighed by its disadvantages, but whether or not I have succeeded in making out a strong case against legislation remains to be seen. The matter is one of public interest and it is of vital importance to all Buddhists throughout the country.

I. The first question to be considered is whether a Burman Buddhist can by Will dispose of his property after his death. Before answering this question which is of vital interest to the people of Burma, it will be well to examine the judicial decisions dealing with this vexed question which has been made the subject of much discussion in Lower Burma, leaving for the present the examination of the texts.

(1) In 1866, Sir Arthur Phayre, the then Chief Commissioner of British Burma, issued a circular, based upon prior enquiries, directing that a Burman Buddhist could not make a will.

(2) In 1875, Sandford, J. C., was of opinion that the idea of a Will to take effect after death upon property not actually passing into the possession of the legatee as known to English law was foreign to Buddhist law and that no Will can cause the devolution of property contrary to the law of inheritance. (*San Yun vs. Myat Thin*, S. J. 46 at p. 48).

(3) The same dictum was laid down in the same year by Quinton J. C. (*Ma Thi vs. Ma Nu*, S. J. 70 at p. 72).

(4) In 1880 the question was more fully discussed by the Special Court, composed of Wilkinson and Crosthwaite J. J., who concurred in the opinion expressed by Sanford J. C. in *San Yun vs. Myat Thin* cited above. After an exhaustive examination of the authorities, the learned Judges came to the conclusion that the power of making a testamentary alienation of property is not a natural right possessed by owners of property but is a creation of the Legislature and that, as Buddhist law does not confer that power, a Burman Buddhist cannot exercise the right to make a Will unless that right has become by usage a part of the Buddhist law. (*Ma Bwin vs. Ma Yin*, S. J. 95 at p. 99).

(5) In consequence of the decision in the last-mentioned case, the local Government instituted enquiries in 1881, the result of which went to show that there existed no testamentary power among Burman Buddhists, at least, in Lower Burma.

(6) The annexation of Upper Burma in 1886 opened a large and new field of enquiry and taking advantage of this circumstance Mr. Meres, when in 1887 the case of a Will cropped up, had further enquiry made in the upper and lower provinces as to the exercise of the testamentary power by Burman Buddhists. The learned Judicial Commissioner collected the opinions of a considerable number of educated gentlemen, official and non-official, on the question of will-making and reconsidered the whole matter in the case of *Mg. Me vs. Sit Kin Nga* (S. J. 429). Before deciding the question he also examined every translated and untranslated text then available as well as the so-called Wills with which the ex-Ministers of the Hlutdaw have favoured him, in search of information on this important subject. According to this Judge, the opinions and authorities so collected and examined showed that the notion of a Will was not to be found in the Dhammathats. It was also pointed out that the idea conveyed by the word "thedansa" (record upon death), which nowhere occurs in the Buddhist law-books, was different from that conveyed by the expression "will" as known to English law, and that the so called Wills submitted by the Hlutdaw were clearly gifts *inter vivos* and not Wills. It was accordingly held that the testamentary power was not in a Burman Buddhist, the learned Judge thus concurring in the ruling of the Special Court in *Ma Bwin vs. Ma Yin* already mentioned, which is the leading case on the subject.

In Upper Burma there are no reported cases directly dealing with the point. The question was incidentally dealt with in *Pwa Swe vs. Tin Nyo* (2 U. B. R. 02-03, p. 1, B. L. Gift). The case is, however, important as showing that the rule that a Burman Buddhist cannot will away his property holds good in Upper Burma also (See also *Tin Shwe vs. Kan Gyi*, 2 U. B. R. 97-01, p. 142).

It has been pointed out that in *Mi Man vs. Mg Gyi* (U.B.R. 3rd Quarter 1915, pp. 87-88) the following passage occurs:—

"The personal law which it is said the adoption tended to defeat is the supposed rule that a Burman Buddhist may not dispose of any part of his estate by Will. It has been held for the last 35 years that Burman Buddhists have not this right, but though the Dhammathats lay down that death-bed gifts are invalid, I do not know of any express rule forbidding Burman Bud-

dhists to dispose of their estate by Will, and as there are some texts which directly declare that such disposal must be given effect to, it may be that the question will some day have to be reopened."

This was a case of adoption. The question was not as to the right of a person to dispose of his or her property by Will, but whether the deed of adoption in dispute was on the analogy of death-bed gifts invalid, and it was held that an adoption made shortly before death is not opposed to Buddhist law. The point as to the right of testamentary disposition was merely raised but not decided, so that these remarks are of the nature of an *obiter dictum*. Hence the case cannot be regarded as an authority in favour of the view that Buddhist law does not prohibit the making of Wills. So far as one has been able to ascertain, these are the only cases in the upper province in which the question has been dealt with, directly or indirectly, by the Superior Courts. Although the reported cases go back for more than 40 years, no case can be cited in which any rule other than that propounded in Lower Burma has been adopted and although the cases on the point are not many, there can be no doubt that, in the opinion of the learned Judges both in Lower and Upper Burma, the rule hitherto accepted is correct, namely, that the exercise of the testamentary power is not a recognized part of Buddhist law.

Texts.

II. It will thus be seen that the rule which has been consistently followed both in Upper and Lower Burma since 1866 is that a Buddhist is incapable of disposing of his property by Will, and that being so, the next question is as to whether there are some texts in the Dhammathats which directly declare that dispositions of properties by Wills must be given effect to but which were not available at the time the judicial decisions denying testamentary powers to the Burman Buddhists were given in Lower Burma.

The only section which has some bearing on the question is S. 78 of the Digest, Vol. I. It contains 12 Dhammathats of which six only directly deal with the point—Pyu, Dhammathatkyaw, Rasi, Rajabala, Sonda and Panam. The Pyu lays down (inter alia) that "what the dead gave the living gets and he whom the dead liberated is indeed emancipated." This rule is also stated in the Sonda and Panam. The Rasi, the Dhammathatkyaw and the Rajabala all give the rule that "a gift made to take effect on the death of the donor is valid," the property given being treated as the separate property of the donee. Of these six, only two (Rasi and Panam) are mentioned in S. 79 which says that a gift made *in extremis* is not valid, if there has been no delivery of possession (Rasi). Such a gift is valid only when accompanied by delivery of possession (Panam). This is also laid down in the other Dhammathats quoted in that section. Thus section 79, which declares that death-bed gifts are invalid, provides an exception that such gifts are valid if they are followed by delivery of possession. If, as the section contemplates, possession is essential to constitute a valid gift, whether it be a gift made *in extremis* or otherwise, this cannot be a disposition of property to take effect on the death of the donor. Section 79 clearly refers to death-bed and other gifts and is therefore not a proviso to section 78 which apparently refers to testamentary dispositions of property. It is noticeable that the Manugye which by common consent has greater weight than any other Dhammathats is not mentioned in either section. On the other hand, passages from this

and several other Dhammathats may be cited to show that alienation of property to the injury of the heirs is prohibited (vide sections 74-75 Digest). Many passages quoted in these sections serve to show that it is not certain that Buddhist law does not prohibit testamentary disposition and even assuming that that is the case, it does not necessarily follow that property can be so disposed of, for a mere non-prohibition is of no avail.

But it has been argued that the testamentary alienation of property is nowhere expressly prohibited in the Dhammathats and that therefore it is legal, and to this plausible argument one cannot reply better than in the words of Mr. Justice Markby. He says: "It seems to me that such an argument on such a point is worth nothing. Whoever hears that the measure of law in any country is express command or express prohibition." This passage was quoted with approval by the Special Court in *Ma Bwin vs. Ma Yin* which was followed in *Mg. Me vs. Sit Kin Nga* already cited, and the argument has been sufficiently disposed of by the learned Judges in both cases.

As stated above there are certain passages in some unimportant Dhammathats which declare that testamentary alienation must be given effect to, but they are few and far between and as already observed the Manugye, which for so long has been recognised as the leading guide in the administration of justice, is one of the majority which make no mention of testamentary dispositions.

Precedent and
usage.

III. Having discussed the legal aspect of the Will-question one may turn to the authority of precedent and usage. As regards the former Mr. Meres in the above-quoted case (*Mg. Me vs. Sit Kin Nga*) pointed out that the earliest so-called Will with a copy of which he was favoured by the ex-Ministers of the Hlutdaw of the late regime, is that of a so-called testator who entirely divests himself of his property, dividing it amongst his children, the heirs agreeing to assign to him, for his maintenance while he lives, a piece of land which is to revert to them on his death and to bind themselves not to dispute the division. It is the oldest of the collection discovered by the Hlutdaw and is dated July 1823. This and other so-called Wills that were brought to the notice of the learned Judicial Commissioner were held to be clearly gifts *inter vivos* and not Wills. He also referred to the *Cūlavagga*, Book X, Chapter II, in which the nearest approach to a germ of the testamentary power is to be found but from the extracts of the commentators on that work it appeared to him that every one of these extracts relates to gifts *inter vivos* with delivery during the donor's lifetime.

As to the question of usage, the Special Court in the earlier case (*Ma Bwin vs. Ma Yin*) had already pointed out that the question of the validity of a Buddhist Will only recently came before the Courts and that there was no evidence of long-established usage such as would justify the conclusion that the right to make a Will has become a part of Buddhist law.

It is said that in support of their answers to the questions of Mr. Meres in the later case, the ex-Ministers of the Hlutdaw gave *nine* instances of so-called Wills made by the Burman Buddhists in the time of the Burmese Government. But the paucity of the so-called Wills then existent in the whole of the country is in itself a sufficient proof of the undoubted fact that the power of making Wills has not been enjoyed and recognised for so long

as to become an established usage and a part of Buddhist law. There may be a few cases in which some Buddhists have disposed of their property by Will, but they cannot be treated as precedents which will serve as a guide without the sanction of usage and of common consent.

IV. Among the grounds set forth in the argument for a testamentary disposition, it is said that on the death of a wealthy Burman his estate is generally frittered away in litigation, thereby preventing the accumulation of capital in the country. It is also stated that Burmans spend a lot of money over inheritance suits in the shape of court-fees, Advocate's fees, travelling and other expenses, etc., and as these suits as a rule take a long time the parties have practically little or nothing left by the time they are over, for they have already spent a large sum of money over this litigation. The estate, it is urged, has to be divided among the persons who are declared entitled to inherit, each getting a small portion, if the estate is not large and the heirs are many; but if there was no law-suit the whole of the property would remain intact and the Burmans would have benefited by the development of the country which is at present left almost entirely in the hands of foreigners for want of capital. But without the testamentary power all these evils can be avoided. Burmans can, if so minded, dispose of their property during their lifetime to any persons, be they heirs or strangers. If they wish to safeguard the interests of their children, parents in their old age, or when conscious that their end is near and while in full possession of their senses, may call the heirs together and make a formal division of their property in the presence of witnesses; and the heirs may be exhorted to accept this allocation without dispute. Such a disposition may be oral or written, provided that such disposals leave no loopholes. Actual parting with possession is the only true test of the completion of a gift, and in this respect the rule laid down in the Dhammathats should be taken as a guide. The Buddhist law requires a transfer of possession to validate a gift. According to the Manugye (Bk: 10, S. 81,) gifts made to children on certain solemn occasions must be accompanied by delivery of possession, and if the children have not been put in possession, they shall not obtain the gifts though the parents may indisputably have made them, and even though there be a written agreement. Thus a gift is not complete without transfer of possession, which is the crucial test, except in the case of a gift made to a boy on the occasion of his *shinpyu* ceremony, in which case the gift is to be regarded as the separate property of the novice, though it does not come into his possession during the lifetime of his parents. With this exception, when possession follows a gift the property given passes absolutely to the donee. The Burmese law on the subject of gifts other than death-bed gifts and those made for religious purposes, though not absolutely binding on the Courts, has been applied in cases relating to ordinary gifts, from the standpoint of justice, equity and good conscience, and there is no reason why the law which makes delivery of possession indispensable to the validity of a gift should not be adopted in dispositions of properties during lifetime.

V. Assuming that litigation is one of the principal causes of poverty among Burman Buddhists, the point is whether, if the testamentary power be conferred on them, the litigation will decrease. It is not likely to decrease

Testamentary disposition unnecessary when property can be disposed of during life-time.

Conferment of testamentary power will increase litigation.

because Wills which are not valid or genuine might crop up. And then what will be the result? That there has been a heavy litigation in England arising out of contested Wills is of itself a sufficient indication that the conferment of such power will not diminish litigation. In Burma litigation is sure to increase if the people are to observe hard-and-fast rules of the Will-law to which they are not accustomed. Even in England, where the right to make a testamentary alienation has long been exercised, testators who were of high official and social rank are found to have left Wills which have been held to be invalid, merely because they fell short of the requirements of the law. Heavy litigation in probate cases in England and elsewhere, serve to show that the power of testamentary disposition tends to increase rather than diminish litigation.

The Buddhists in Burma are not familiar with the complicated rules and regulations which are to be framed, should the testamentary power be conferred in this country, and they will not relish the idea of conforming to such rules. If then Burmans will not have a relish to act in conformity to the will-law there will be needless litigation arising from loopholes to which they cannot but fall victims.

On the other hand a Will in its modern conception is to a certain extent secret and is revocable. It is generally concealed from the knowledge of all persons except the individual or individuals concerned. As a rule it is kept secret or hidden from general knowledge and is not revealed till the death of the testator. That being so, fears may be entertained that when a man dies intestate leaving his wife or wives and children behind him, an unscrupulous heir or stranger may draw up a fictitious or spurious Will and claim his property as a legatee. Such a thing is not impossible and what is there to prevent it? If such an event happens, the result will be simply disastrous. And it may be reasonably expected that the proposed litigation conferring testamentary power on Burman Buddhists will open a door to fraud and will not have the desired effect.

In this connection, it may not be out of place to mention here what is known in England as the "Statute of Frauds." The Statue was made for the purpose of preventing perjuries and frauds which were rife at or before the time it was passed. But the experience of English lawyers goes to show that it is to many evil-minded or unprincipled men an actual aid to the perpetration of gross frauds and to the increase of litigation which it was designed to prevent. The Statute is often referred to as a mine of gold to English lawyers eager for a large practice. To say that may or may not be an exaggeration, but the fact remains that, in the opinion of many a lawyer, it is an utter failure as a preventative.

To confer the testamentary power would either give rise to further litigation or would enable persons prone to evil to perpetrate fraud and to profit by it. Neither result is desirable. The proposed legislation will not remedy the evils which it is desired to stop, and will, it is apprehended, have the effect of placing Burman Buddhists in a worse position than they are now. It is therefore desirable that *status quo* should be maintained.

Conferment of
such power not
necessary to

VI. One of the chief reasons why some people are clamouring for the testamentary power is that parents will exercise a firmer moral control

ensure respect and obedience to parents when disobedient children can be disinherited under Buddhist law.

over their children who are expected, in return, to render them greater respect and obedience. Testamentary power, they say, would thus promote the children's proper behaviour and the fulfilment of filial duties, so desirable among the present rising generation, and the children would take great care to avoid bad habits which will incur the displeasure of their parents if they do not wish to be disinherited. But this advantage may be obtained without legislation conferring testamentary power, for the Dhammathats contain provisions allowing parents to disinherit children who defy parental authority and act contrary to their wishes, or who abuse and strike them. Thus Manugye lays down among other things that "if children of the same parents wish to have an equal share of the inheritance, they must have respect for their family. . . . Children who do not obey their parents, who abuse and strike them, shall have no share in the inheritance" (S. 81, Bk: X). On the same principle, the rebellious son, though born in honourable marriage, is treated as a dog and classed among the six kinds of children who are not entitled to inherit. The Manugye describes him as a "dog-son" (*thwanokta*) who will not attend to the advice of his parents but rebels against their authority and conducts himself as an enemy, because he is like a dog. Section 21 of the Digest may also be cited as an authority on this point. The Manugye is one of the numerous texts quoted in that section. There can be no doubt that, as the law stands, a disobedient or contumacious child can be excluded from inheritance and therefore no legislation is necessary to ensure respect and obedience. Moreover, filial duty, respect and obedience to parents is most strongly inculcated by the Dhammathats and Buddhist Scriptures. And a man can be disinherited if he set at naught parental authority, which holds so prominent a place in the Burman Codes. Of course the strictest proof would be required that a son had conducted himself as an enemy to justify a Court in disinheriting him under Buddhist law and if there was reconciliation between such a son and his parent and restoration to affection subsequent to the undutiful or unfilial conduct constituting exclusion from inheritance, the Court would not disinherit him.

Lack of testamentary power does not deprive a person of his right to alienate during life-time a portion of his property for a charitable purpose.

VII. It has been suggested that the power of making Wills would also promote acts of public charity; but the lack of testamentary power does not prevent one from giving away a portion of his estate by way of charity during his lifetime. On the contrary gifts *inter vivos* are not uncommonly made for charitable and religious purposes. At the same time one must not lose sight of the fact that parents have a sacred duty towards their children and they are morally bound to make due provisions for the latter. And although Buddhist law contemplates the devotion of a portion of the estate to religious offerings, yet the Courts will not uphold a large expenditure on this account incurred without the assent of the heirs.

Why testamentary privileges enjoyed by all civilized nations are not allowed to Buddhists.

VIII. It may be contended that there is no sufficient reason for denying testamentary power to Burman Buddhists when this right has been exercised by all civilized peoples among whom Burmans are quite fit to take their place. Assuming that testamentary power has had beneficial results among other communities, that affords no reason for conferring this right on the Burmese community inasmuch as it does not follow that the privilege enjoyed by other nations will be equally advantageous to the Burmans. The

total dissimilarity of these races in caste, creed, custom, habit and religion, must be taken into consideration. There are, for instance, many things in the Hindu and Mahomedan laws and customs which may appear to Burmans or Europeans not to be either just or equitable from the latter's point of view, and there may be many things in Buddhist law and custom which appear to foreigners to be unjust or unreasonable, but that is no reason for British Courts not following such laws and usages in matters of marriage and inheritance. It would be easy to multiply instances of differences, total or partial, between the Burmans and other nations, resulting from their traditions and modes of life, of thought, etc. Their temperaments and dispositions are as dissimilar as their features and so are their ways and manners. It cannot therefore be said that because testamentary power has conferred benefits on other communities, it would be equally beneficial to the Burmese community.

Judge-made law has replaced Dhammathats which are unsuited to conditions of modern life.

IX. The main reason why some Burman Buddhists consider that it is to their interests that they should have the power to dispose of their property by Will is that the Dhammathats, they say, are antiquated and not suited to the present day conditions. No doubt the Dhammathats are not expressed precisely, logically and consistently, but it can hardly be expected that they should be. For, in fairness to the compilers of these law-books, who occupy the status of juris-consults rather than that of law-givers or legislators, it may be pointed out that these texts are intended to be read subject to what is widely known as the *Mahapadethataya lepa*, namely, (1) *kalan* (time), (2) *desan* (locality), (3) *aggan* (value) and (4) *danan* (nature of property). In short these four conditions constitute a setting or environment from which no text should be detached and the prevailing circumstances of a particular period should be regarded as the dominant factor in a civil suit which is adjudicated upon by any one of the text-books called Dhammathats. The accuracy or preciseness of expression which to a European mind is essential to rules of law is not so to an Oriental. In practice, however, the complex and technical rules which have become obsolete are not taken as a guide and the old texts are ignored which are not in accordance with the existing custom or with equitable principles. But on the whole the Dhammathats, incomplete and defective though they are, respect both moral and legal ideas and the spirit of Buddhist law seems to be based on reasonableness and on respect for moral duties. This has already been pointed out by Sir John Jardine in *Po Lat vs. Po Le* (S. J. 216).

To this eminent Judge is due the chief tribute of having attempted to assimilate the texts and to stimulate research into the authorities. In his Notes on Buddhist law he endeavoured to comment on and explain conflicting rules of the Dhammathats and by his lucid exposition of the law in that excellent book and his learned decisions on the subject, he has rendered valuable services to the country. Since his time the Dhammathats have received liberal judicial interpretations and, thanks to the Superior Judges in the upper and lower provinces who have paid much attention to the prevailing customs and changing conditions of the people which have modified the ancient law, a case-law has sprung up side by side with the knowledge of the

books. This Judge-made law (so it is called) has simplified and elucidated certain passages which are vaguely and elliptically expressed and which are left untouched and unexplained by the compilers of the Dhammathats, so much so that the law which was once obscure and unintelligible has been made clear and intelligible.

Of course there is a conflict of rulings on certain points as there is one of authority in the Dhammathats. The Judges who administer the law of the land are English, the law administered is Buddhist, and the language in which it was written and the persons to whom it is administered are Burmese. There is therefore small room for wonder for the present state of affairs when one takes all these circumstances into consideration. But this fact does not affect the main question and the point is whether the power of will-making, however conducive to the good of the people for whose benefit the proposed legislation is in agitation or contemplation, should override the Dhammathats.

With the steady advance of civilization, aided by education and enlightenment, and with the ever changing circumstances of life, the laws of all nations must necessarily change and become adapted to the needs of the country and requirements of the changing time. The world is advancing and Burma with it, and with the new generation tradition has lost its hold and the influence of their progenitors has long ceased. So that in this country, what was considered to be good in ancient days have to be altered to keep pace with the rapid advancement and progress of the nation under the fostering influence of British rule.

The result is that the law that suited our forbears has been altered or modified to suit the present conditions of life, so that the grounds upon which the importunate demand for testamentary power are based have ceased to exist and there is therefore no necessity to create uneasiness in the minds of the people about the new law, the beneficial results of which are, to say the least, extremely doubtful.

Action taken by
Government in
the matter.

X. The proposed measure may result in good or evil, but quite apart from its effect and whatever this may be, the momentous question is as to whether there is at the present time such strong feeling in favour of the power of disposition by Will as would justify legislation being undertaken by the Government. Before answering this question one may here recall to mind that action has recently been taken by Government in the matter. The attitude of Government towards the conferment on Burmans of such power is all that can be desired. The matter was last examined in 1904, when it was decided that no legislative action should then be taken but though the Lieutenant-Governor did not wish to indicate the opinion that the power of making Wills should be permanently withheld from Buddhists, a promise was made that if hereafter the desire for legislative action became more general *and the necessity could be more clearly shown*, the consideration of the question might be resumed. Since the enquiry which led to that decision was instituted there has no doubt been a growth of opinion in favour of legislation, and His Honour Sir Harcourt Butler considers that the time has now arrived when the further enquiry contemplated by the Government should be initiated.

Novelty attracts attention.

XI. It is, of course, the merest truism to say that "novelty is the great parent of pleasure." An Oriental more than an Occidental delights in introducing novelties such as new dress, custom, fashion, manner, etc., and the attraction of novelty is well-known, especially in Burma. But it is often dangerous to innovate on the customs of a nation and unless circumstances necessitate legislation conferring testamentary power on Buddhists no change should be effected in this direction. Otherwise the Government will be the author of an innovation which may be as contrary to their interests as to the usage and the law to which they are accustomed to look for guidance.

Desire for legislation not general and necessity not clearly shown.

XII. With the gradual, though slow, progress of the country and with the increase in the number of English educated Burmans, there can be little doubt that the feeling in favour of legislation must be strong in certain quarters but the mere desire for a change on the part of the educated and wealthy few is not enough. The masses, at any rate the greater part of the common people as contrasted with those of wealth and station, seem to be either quite indifferent or averse to the proposal. In any case unless the necessity for legislation is clearly shown to the satisfaction of Government, the grant of testamentary power in any form and to any class of the community would still be premature, and the consideration of the question should be deferred till something like unanimity is secured.

Even limited power of testamentary disposition unnecessary.

XIII. It is therefore unnecessary to consider the question whether the power of disposition by Will should be restricted in any way. It has been suggested by some that such power will do no harm if a person can exercise the right of willing away his or her property to the extent of half. No doubt such a disposition will not violate the spirit of Buddhist law as laid down in the Dhammathats. It has been held that the power of making a gift given by the Dhammathats to the surviving parent is limited to a half share in the joint estate (*Shwe Thaung vs. Shwe Hman*, 13 Burma Law Reports 334). And it is now settled law that a widow or widower has an absolute power of disposal over one-half of the joint property of herself or himself and the deceased spouse. So that under this rule a person may during his lifetime make a gift of his property to an heir or even a stranger, provided that the property so given is less than the donor's half share in the family property. When, therefore, the law confers the right of alienation during lifetime on a person to the extent of his or her share in the joint estate it is not necessary to grant the power of testamentary disposition in a restricted form in the manner suggested.

Opinion of Sir George Shaw.

XIV. In this connection, it is to be noted that when the last enquiry was made which led to the promise of future consideration, Sir George Shaw, the then Judicial Commissioner of Upper Burma, was one of the majority who were altogether opposed to legislation. He was strongly of opinion that the proposal should be rejected. The weighty reasons given by him for his dissent are still green in the memory of all concerned, and are too well-known to need mention here. Suffice it to say that the opinion emanating from such an authority naturally impressed the Local Government. It is scarcely necessary to point out that this is the gentleman who, in the midst of an extraordinary conflict of opinion and authority, declared without the least hesitation and fear of contradiction, that polygamy is a recognized part

of Buddhist law. In the words of their Lordships of the Privy Council, he "is an Englishman of great experience without any prejudice in favour of Western notions, whose only object seems to have been to administer the law truly and indifferently as he found it laid down in the Dhammathats and the rulings of his predecessors and in Sir John Jardine's Notes on Buddhist law, which seems to be the principal authority on the subject" (I. U. B. R. 1910-1913, p. 111 at p. 112). He is well acquainted with the Burmese customs and the principles of the Buddhist law.

The opinion on the Will question coming from so distinguished an authority on Buddhist law and a Burmese scholar who may be said to have spent the greater part of his life in Burma and who may therefore be fairly credited with an intimate knowledge of Burmese habits, is worthy of great respect.

Summary.

XV. It will be well to summarise the principal objections that have been raised against the conferment of testamentary power and they are as follows:—

1. As long as polygamy is recognized, no good purpose can be served by legislation conferring such power. There are good reasons for apprehension that a man who has more than one wife may leave his property to the wife, probably a lesser wife, whom he likes better without making any provision for the other wife or her children, who will thus be left penniless and in dire want.
2. The conferment of testamentary power may often defeat the object aimed at or desired, and experience shows that the errors of extravagant young men who are rolling in wealth are the ruin of their business and prospects.
3. It might give rise to needless and expensive litigations over wills which are fabricated or otherwise invalid, and the necessity of setting up a new Court to try probate cases, regardless of the heavy expenditure which its establishment will entail.
4. As a child who is guilty of moral turpitude can be excluded from inheritance under Buddhist law, no testamentary power is necessary to ensure respect and obedience to parents, and a child can be disinherited for unfilial or ungrateful conduct whether such power be conferred or not.
5. The conferment of testamentary power will be productive of hardship or injustice and render the salutary provisions of the Dhammathats nugatory. Such power will enable a dishonest person to defeat the legal claims of his or her heirs and to bid defiance to the law which declares who shall be a man's heirs and in what order they are to inherit. For instance, a Burman polygamist might, as he often does, take fancy to the last wife and the children by her alone, and ignoring the lawful claims of the other heirs, give away his property to the former, causing injustice to the latter. This must obviously be unfair and improper.
6. It has not been shown that the testamentary power has been enjoyed and recognized for so long as to become an established usage and a part of Buddhist law. It has been found that the word "thedansa," which nowhere occurs in the Dhammathats, differs essentially from the expression "Will." In other words the Will as known to English law is unknown to Buddhist

law. The so-called Wills that existed in the Burmese time have been held to be clearly gifts *inter vivos*.

7. Buddhist law as it is now administered in this country is not so uncertain and unintelligible as it is represented to be. The conflicting and inconsistent rules in certain passages of the Dhammathats which have given rise to divergent views among the High Court Judges do not in reality affect the interests of the Burmese public at any rate so far as the question under discussion is concerned.

8. The law on the death of a person distributes his estate among his heirs in certain fixed shares and the Manugye and many other important Dhammathats nowhere give the owner of property the power to disappoint the heirs by disposing of his property by Will and thereby to cause a split in the family.

9. Those who speak optimistically of the testamentary alienation and advocate total or partial change in the matter, are in the minority and they have not weighed the pros and cons of the scheme with that care and attention which its importance demands. Their arguments in favour of legislation militate against the prevailing opinion and custom.

10. Inexperience of use will lead to abuse, especially when, as is frequently the case in Upper Burma, the people are so ignorant and inexperienced in legal formalities of codified laws.

11. The advantages that may accrue from the conferment of testamentary power will be more than outweighed by its disadvantages which are many as set forth above.

Conclusion.

XVI. There may be strong feeling in favour of legislation, at any rate in Lower Burma, but it is extremely doubtful whether this feeling is shared by the people, at least the masses, in Upper Burma. It may be that the desire for legislative action has become more general in both Upper and Lower Burma, but all the same a strong *prima facie* case has not been made out so far as the necessity is concerned, and where the consequence of conferring such power is disinheritance of those entitled to succeed by law, it is, in my humble opinion, specially necessary to insist on adequate and convincing proof as to advisability or expediency of the legislation asked for. Before granting testamentary power our benign Government will no doubt maturely consider the consequences of a hasty decision. After mature consideration it is submitted that, taking all the above-mentioned circumstances into account, the grant of testamentary power in any form and to any class of the community is still premature.

In conclusion it may be noted that in support of my views I have thought it important to give reasons in full and to quote all the available authorities from the earliest till the latest times because of the great importance of the question in issue.

On the whole, I venture to think that a careful examination of the texts and other authorities on the subject of Buddhist Wills, does not justify departure from a ruling which has not been shown to be inaccurate and which has been given nearly half a century ago and followed both in Upper and Lower Burma ever since.

I may add that there is some misconception among Burmans as to the true nature of a Will and it is highly desirable that the scope and effect of the proposed legislation should be clearly explained to any Burman whose opinion it is desired to obtain. On this point I may refer to the letter of Mr. Secretary Burgess (para 8 and 9) about Wills dated the 19th June 1882, which may be consulted with advantage.

THA GYWE.

THE ENCHANTED WOOD.

Bright little timid eyes watch me go by:
Shy little birds fill the woods with their cry.
Brilliant the colour of wings as they fly.
Dear little birds in the wood.

I have never believed much in Latin, so I cannot tell you anything very scientific about all the birds in the *Enchanted Wood*. Nor do I think that that will matter very much. Their interest lies not in what they are called, but in how they live and act, and in what the people think of them, and what quaint and fanciful stories are told about them. Besides, Latin names are so very un-appropriate. That of the Burmese House Crow—*Corvus Insolens*—is one of the very few suitable ones; and as it happens, there are no crows at all in Loimwe, and only the Jungle Crow in Kengtung. That is the locality of the *Enchanted Wood*. But as it includes the low plain of Kengtung and the still lower valley of the Mekong, as well as the hills of Loimwe which are more than 3000 feet up, the field is a large one, and what I have to say is of general, as well as of local, interest. Indeed, probably all the birds found commonly in the Shan States and in similar parts of Burma, are represented here. And as soon as you begin to know what to look and to listen for, the woods become peopled with the most extraordinarily attractive inhabitants. Their song and plumage is so beautiful, that the wonder is you never noticed them long ago. For purposes of preliminary identification I class the birds of the *Enchanted Wood* under three heads, namely:—(1). Those I know by sight and sound; (2). Those I know only by sight, and (3). (the largest group of all) those I know only by sound. For the birds whose cries are the most familiar, who call to us most incessantly from the depths of the forest, are precisely the ones hardly ever seen. The monotonous, single, metallic 'Tonk tonk tonk' of the *Coppersmith*, is heard unceasingly on the Kengtung plain, as throughout all the East. Yet, crouched high up on the bough of a peepul, he is not so very often seen, despite his handsome green plumage, scarlet crest and gorget, and yellow throat. And when he is discovered, this Barbet, who uses his stout bill for carving a nest out of a trunk, and not for seeking insects, is easily mistaken for a wood-pecker. The finest songster in the *Enchanted Wood*—the *Shama*—who fills the forest with melodious whistling, was known for months in local nomenclature only as 'Damn-that-bird,' from his annoying habit of leaving a tree by one side, while you cautiously stalked it from

the other. Yet I believe it was from this very bird-cry that my family unknowingly adopted our private whistle, just because it was the most persistent of all the out-side, hot-weather calls, which penetrate an Indian bungalow. That was no less than 25 years ago. It has been in constant use ever since, and we have made our presence known to each other (often unexpectedly) in many parts of the world with the Shama's cry. A family whistle can be most useful, and there are many many birds whose call would answer the purpose. You can even arrange a private code, applicable to your dog, or your wife, just as dacoits and burglars use the hoots and shrieks of owls as signals. A husband, having waited at a dance in cold passages till 2 a. m., might forcibly express his impatience to his wife in the ball-room with the menacing shrieks of some such owl. It would need practice of course, but would be well worth it. At least, I should think so, though there being (at present) no woman on earth for whom I would endure such misery, of course I hav'nt got the experience. Still, most of us have adopted particular whistles to which our dogs answer. Then why not for a wife too? The cry of "*Yauk-hpa Kwe-kaw*," for example, might summon her, and at the same time indicate that you are cheerfully disposed; while the three sad, descending notes of a little grey bird (which begins its dismal cry in July) might be a club signal to her to leave her *Zereba*, and come along home—"I'm fed up."

The male *Shama* is dark brown or black, with a chestnut front. The female is not so dark, and has a drab front and shorter tail. This shy bird is not easy to identify, except by the fact that none other sings so well and so continuously from about June to August. At the end of August it suddenly ceases to call.

On the other hand, there are bold birds like the *Crow Pheasant*, whose glossy black plumage and chestnut wings are familiar enough, but who for all their outward courage, never betray their cries. Yet his is the low moanings *whoop whoop whoop*, which is heard round the bungalow all day long. The Shans and Burmese, by the way, believe that the breast of the Crow pheasant is good for asthma. They prepare it as a curry with the calabash gourd.

Other birds like the green *Kootar Kar*, and certain kinds of *Cuckoos*, are rarely seen, not so much because they are shy, but because it is their habit to frequent the tops of tall trees, where they are very hard to find amongst the foliage, even while they are uttering their well known cries. Probably the best known bird in all Burma is a Cuckoo called *Yauk-hpa kwe-kaw* whose cry, as I have already mentioned, would make a very convenient private whistle. It calls practically without ceasing the whole day from about April till July, when it suddenly stops. Yet, I have never known any one who saw one. The cry of this bird is exactly expressed by the Burmese words it utters:—

Yauk-hpa kwe-kaw

*Aung-gyaw ley-htan.*¹

which means "Brother call the dog. *Aung-gyaw* will shoulder the bow."

¹ နေထိုင်ခွင့် နှစ်နှစ်ကြိမ်လေးထပ်း

Yauk-hpa really means *brother-in-law*, but it may be best translated as *brother*, because the Karens (so I am told) use the word 'brother-in-law' where other folk would simply say 'brother,' or 'friend.' Ages and ages ago the Karen hunter *Aung-gyazw* cried "Brother call the dog. I (*Aung-gyazw*) will shoulder my bow." In that hunting *Aung-gyazw* was killed, and his spirit, now incarnate as bird, haunts the forest still calling, calling all through the day '*Yauk-hpa kwe-kazw. Aung-gyazw ley-htan.*'

Of course here, in the Southern Shan States, it speaks Shan, and says:—

'*Nai-tau pan-mok*'

which means:—"The old lady is sticking flowers in her hair." In China, this same clever bird speaks Chinese saying:—

Khwan-koang Khwan-haw

meaning:—"Exchange labour, exchange work," i. e., 'you help me today, and I will help you tomorrow.'

The Night-jar, which the Chinese of Yünnan call *Kwung Kulu*, is never seen at all, though its insistent note repeated every few seconds throughout the night is one of the familiar night sounds of the forest. That plaintive, sorrowful cry must often and often have penetrated the thoughts of men, who live lonely lives along this Yünnanese frontier. There is deep pathos in the story of *Kwung Kulu* as the Chinese tell it. In a former life *Kwung Kulu* (the Naked One) was a wood-cutter's wife. Her husband *Chung-dzur Fung* died one day in the forest. That evening the sad wife sought him through the woods, calling his name desolately:—

"*Chung-dzur Fung! Chung-dzur Fung!*"

Now, reincarnate as a bird, she continues her lonely search night by night. There is no one to care for her. She is neglected and naked. So the darkness has cast its mantle about her. You may never see her. You would be struck dead if you did. But you will hear her any dark night, searching through the jungle for "*Chung-dzur Fung! Chung-dzur Fung!*"

* * * *

With bitter grief the Night-jar's heart is wrung.
All night she searches for her missing mate;
Calling with plaintive cries for "*Chung-dzur Fung!*"
For "*Chung-dzur Fung!*" she cries disconsolate;
Unloved, un-comforted, seeking her mate.
Ah! *Chung-dzur Fung*, the forester, is dead;
And *Kwung Kulu* is fearful of his fate.
She searches, calling through the forest dread,
Her spirit as a bird now incarnate.
To-night she searches—Ah! so desolate.

* * * *

The Chinese of Yünnan have many fancies which appeal straight to the heart. To-day, as I write in August, it happens to be the 15th night of the seventh month of the Chinese year—a night when every Chinese house is brightly lit. Little feasts are spread to welcome all the dead, who have come

back this night to the poor little homes that were theirs. How happy these simple folk must feel to-night, with their dead standing again amongst them—the beloved ones they knew, and also the generations of ancestors of whose substance they are the fruit. All these are gathered home to-night.

* * * * *

This little story has pleased me, and so does a legend about the stars, that *Chau Sheh Chwen*, my Chinamen, told me, as we looked out along the *Heavenly River* last night.¹ The Chinese believe that a new star is set in Heaven whenever a child is born into the world. Every man has his star, and it is great or small according to his own station. And when he dies, his star in the firmament goes out, for then the God *Beh-doe-syin* extinguishes that star.

* * * * *

Besides the birds I have mentioned, there are many others in this Buddhist land who are also re-incarnate spirits. One is known to the Burmese as *Taw Loan Hgnet* (Jungle Secure Bird).² It is the re-incarnation of a witch-doctor. By its presence in a locality, all poisonous snakes and other dangers are kept away. Its cry is:—

“*Oan bwa bwa. Oan bwa bwa.*”³

Another is *Htan Yea Yu Hgnet*⁴ (Toddy-Wine Drunken Bird). It is the incarnation of a drunken toddy-palm climber. Its maudling notes are supposed to call drunkenly for a feast:—“Chickens, 'pigs six. Roast them, roast them”

“*Chyet wet chawk gaung*
Chyet wet chawk gaung
Tyaw yaw—Tyaw yaw.”⁵

There is also a pious old lady, who in her life-time wished her husband to build a pagoda, and who still calls to him as a bird from the woods saying—“Oh old man oh! I told you to build a pagoda. You hav'nt built it?”

“*A-po gyee oh!*
Kyaung sauk ba so.
Sauk hpey go.”⁶

I have never heard this bird myself, but I am told it is found in Katha, and has been heard also at Takaw in the Salween valley. So apparently it likes a hot climate. It is said to be shy.

In Burma the Iora is one of the most popular little birds. It is called *Shwe Pyee Zoe*⁷ in Burmesé. This again is one of the birds more often heard than seen. It covers its nest with cobwebs. Long, long ago, there was

¹ The Chinese call the Milky-way 'Tien-haw,' or the 'Heavenly River.'

² တောလုံငှက်

³ ခါးခါး ခါးခါး

⁴ ထန်းရေခွက်

⁵ ကြိတ် ဝတ် ခြောက်တောင် ကြိတ် ဝတ် ခြောက်တောင် ကျော်ရော့ ကျော်ရော့

This bird is found commonly in Kaing-Gyi-Shwe-Thamin Village, N. E. of Mā-da-ya, near Mandalay.

⁶ အဘိုးကြီးဆိုကျောင်းဆောက်ဝါဆို ဆောက်ခဲရိုး

⁷ ရွှေမြင်းရိုး

a ruffian who was to be hanged for fraud. Being tied up in the forest pending his execution, he began to wonder how he could escape. Presently a simple fellow came along, and the ruffian began to call out "*Shwe Pyee Zoe: Shwe Pyee Zoe:*" which means "I will rule the Golden Country."

The simple fellow said, "Friend, why are you crying *Shwe Pyee Zoe.*"

The ruffian replied, "Oh! I am to be hanged because I refused to rule this country. But now, since the people force me to it, I am obliged to accept the throne. Therefore I say '*I will rule the Golden Country.*' But I do not wish to at all. If you will take my place, you are very welcome to it." So the fool took his place.

When the executioners came he cried "*Shwe Pyee Zoe: Shwe Pyee Zoe*" as long as he could, but of course it did not help him in the least: and now incarnate as a simple little bird, he still calls it from the woods.

Shwe Pyee Zoe is one of the creatures who calls its own name. The Burmese say there are seven who do so—

Ko na-mey

Ko-kaw

*Kuhmit hparw*¹

meaning "Who call their own names, are seven" They are:—

Zee-gwet,² the spotted Owlet.

Dee-doke,³ the Barn Owl.

Tit-tee-du,⁴ the 'Did-you-do-it,' or Lapwing.

Tau-teh,⁵ the Tucktoo.

Shwe-Pyee-Zoe,⁶ the Iora.

Yauk-hpa Kwe-kaw,⁷ the Burmese Cuckoo.

Oo-aw,⁸ the common Cuckoo.

Seven little creatures small
Call their names the whole day long.
First, the Tucktoo on the wall:
'*Tav-teh, Tav-teh*' is his call
Bringing luck at even'—fall
By his joyous hunting song.

Of the owlets there are two:—
Dee-doke, Zee-gwet to and fro
Darkly flit the whole night through.
'Did-you-do-it' *Tit-tee-du*.
Yauk-hpa Kwe-kaw, and Cuckoo,
And Iora (*Shwe-Pyee-Zoe*).

¹ ကိုယ်နာမည် ကိုယ်ခေါ်ခွင့်ရှိသော

² ဇီးဂွတ်

³ ဒီးဒုတ်

⁴ တစ်တီဒူး

⁵ တောက်တု

⁶ အမြင့်ရှိ

⁷ ရောက်မေးခေါ်

⁸ ဥမြော

Some are souls re-incarnate
 Who recall their dying words.
 Calling early, calling late,
 Telling their pathetic fate:
 Happy in their present state
 Simple, artless little birds.

The 'Did-you-do-it' is the *Burmese Red-wattled Lapwing*, and is peculiar to Burma. The Burmese consider it an unlucky bird, and in the old days would abandon a journey if one of them came screaming over head. On the ground, it is rather shy. It has a black head, with red eye-laps, and two white patches behind the neck. The collar is white. The whole body is brown above, and white below. It stands on long yellow legs. As it goes off with its startled cry:—"Did-you-do it, Did-you-do it?," it shows white across its extended wings. The Burmese think that the Lapwing sleeps on its back with its legs in the air, fearing lest the sky should fall on it.

* * * * *

The Cuckoos are not easy birds to observe. I have, however, seen the *Malkoha Cuckoo* alive and dead, both in Loimwe and Keng Tung. It is dark metallic-green. The tail feathers are tipped with white, and the longest is one and a half times the length of the body. The beak is dull green. There is a scarlet patch over the eye. The bird, when seen, is silent, and of furtive, skulking habits.

One could think of more creatures who call their own names, such for instance as *Boke*,¹ the Crow Pheasant. But the Burmese only allow the seven I have mentioned. Of these, the Tucktoo lizard is amongst the most popular. He occupies every verandah, and has a place at every wall-lamp, where his call of '*Tau-teh, Tau-teh*' is considered lucky.

Hpoot, the Guana, on the other hand, is supposed to be an unlucky sort of lizard, and his entrance into the house denotes poverty. At one time (so the Burmese say) there was friendship between *Hpoot* the *Guana*, and *Badat* (an edible lizard). Their common plain-ness was a bond between them. Finally, they decided to tattoo each other. The *Badat* was done first, and has now become a remarkably pretty lizard. When he had been thus transformed, he threw a handful of dust over *Hpoot*, the Guana, and ran away. So poor *Hpoot* is unlucky to this day in his sombre colouring.

Such Burmese legends are nearly always based on some peculiarity of the bird or beast. The people are extraordinarily observant, especially of bird life—though it is usually not till mature age that they become mines of information on the subject. All these stories, though not very easy to discover, are all the same well known to the Burmese. Most of us have probably heard some of them already, in one or other of their various forms. Such information has this stirring quality, that it fills the other-wise silent woods with friendly forms and voices, and relieves an other-wise monotonous life with endless charming fancies.

There are 18 kinds of owls known to exist in Burma, but as 'Harrington says,'¹ the majority of them are nocturnal and "the only evidence of their presence is their hooting and wierd and ghastly cries." It is one of these sinister, unseen birds, I think, that the Burmese know under the different names of *Aung-Wa-Hgnet*.² *Hgnet Soan*³ (Witch bird): *Hgnet Hso*⁴ (Bird of ill-omen): and *Lin Kaung Poe Hgnet*⁵ (the bird that shoulders her husband). Dark stories are naturally associated with it. Its cry heard in a sickroom proclaims the approach of death. This Screech Owl is the unhappy ghost of an unfaithful wife. One of its names, the '*Bird that shoulders her husband*' recalls the legend of how this faithless wife and her lover were done to death by the outraged husband, who, pretending to have gone blind, discovered all. Knowing that the lover lay concealed in an earthen jar, he scalded him to death with boiling water. Then, begging his wife to help him dispose of the body of 'a thief,' he tied and strapped the corpse over her shoulder. Having reached the river, the husband told his wife that he knew everything. The marks of his blows, and of the thongs and straps which secured the corpse to her, are to be seen in her plumage still.

The husband then flung her into the water, where she was forced under by the weight of her guilty load. In memory of that terrible scene, the bird is said to have two heads; and the screams she uttered on that dreadful night are echoed now in her screech.

* * * * *

It is of course a matter of common knowledge that a crow will attack an owl on sight in day time. Down in Magwe, I once captured a magnificent owl which was being done to death by crows. It was a pale brown bird, with a splendid white ruffle. I eventually released it at dusk ('for merit,' as the Burmese say). Further, it is well known that some Cuckoos lay their eggs in crow's nests, and are thus amongst the few living things that really score off the crow. These things, however, were not always so. Formerly the crow and the owl were great friends. But one day the owl was wounded. He sought medical advice from the crow, who in turn sought it from the Cuckoo, who suggested a successful cure. The crow then asked the owl for a fee; which, being refused, resulted in the present feud between them. The crow consequently attacks the owl on sight, and the owl has been obliged to hide itself until night-fall.

At the same time, the Cuckoo demanded a fee from the crow for his advice. Having nothing to give, the crow undertook always to hatch out one Cuckoo's egg every season, which is consequently laid in the crow's nest.

The Burmese believe that only three eggs are ever found in a crow's nest. One is the Cuckoo's and the other two hatch out into a male and a female crow. In time the Mother Crow mates with her son, and the Father

¹ "The Birds of Burma." This book, and Finn's "Garden and Aviary Birds of India," have been consulted in identification.

² အောင်ဝါဂ္ဂ

³ ဌာရ်

⁴ ဌာရ်

⁵ လင်ကောင်ရီး

Crow with his daughter. What truth there is in all this I can not say; but it is reported that originally the Father Crow deserted his wife while she was busy hatching the family. Enraged by this conduct, she sought a divorce in the court of the Chief-of-the-Crows. A judgment was passed as follows:—

*Pey ta thee: Chee ta tha*¹

which means 'Pey-tree one fruit: Crow one son,' signifying that crows shall never mate together for more than one season: for the *Pey-tree*, which is a kind of palm, only fruits once in its existence.

In connection with the feud between the Crow and the Owl, some Burmese say it arose from the jealousy which *Zcc-gwet* (the spotted Owlet), and *Dec-doke* (the Barn Owl), showed towards the crow, when formerly he was the king of birds. They spied secretly on him, and caught him in the act of eating filth. Then the birds knew him for the low-born fellow he really is, and dethroned him, and put the little scarlet Minivet in his place, with the title of *Hget Min-tha* (the Prince of Birds).

The Burmese name for the crow *Chee-gaan*,² is derived from the words *Chee* (big), and *gaan* (blind). This is because he was once much bigger than he is now, but as punishment for tormenting a poor old hermit in his forest monastery, a prince of that country caught the crow, and ordered that he should only be as big as a half closed hand (*lek hnin ta soak shee ya mee*).³ Also he put out one eye, which is why the crow now looks at you side-ways.

Weaver-birds are very common on the Keng Tung plain, where they build their funnel-shaped, hanging nests in colonies in palm and peepul trees. There is a big colony in the garden of the *Wat Yang Kong* pagoda, where they are specially tame and easy to watch, by reason of the protection afforded them by the phoongyis. It is really very interesting to see them fly back with a bit of fibre, and weave it dexterously into the nest. In the breeding season the male birds develop handsome yellow plumage. The Burmese declare that Weaver-birds catch fire-flies and illuminate their nests with them at night. A friend of mine once saw a nest in which a fire-fly was embedded in a lump of clay. This seems to confirm the story; and, indeed, Weaver-birds are clever enough for anything.

The black-and white *Chinese Magpie* is fairly common on the Keng Tung plain. I believe it does not extend very far West, and is not seen in Burma proper as a rule. It is very much like our English Magpie, which by the way, is an unlucky bird. At home you 'take your hat off to a magpie.' Here, the birds seen in November have a great deal more white about them than birds seen in August. I suppose that this is because the majority of birds seen in November are young ones.

The dear little *Magpie Robin* (or Dhayal) is also found near Keng Tung in November. But it is only a winter visitor. This cheery little bird, as its name suggests, is also entirely black-and-white. The head, breast, wings

¹ ဝေတသီးကျီးတသား

² ကျီးတန်း

³ လက်နှင်တဆင့်ရှိရမည်

and centre of the tail are black. The lower part, the outer edges of the tail, and a bit of the wing, are white.

Three kinds of Bulbuls are common. The *Burmese Black Bulbul* is a colourless dark-grey little fellow, with a black crest. The *Red-vented Bulbul* is dark-grey. The breast is ashy-grey. He has a black crest, and a conspicuous red seat. The *Red-Whiskered Bulbul* also has a red seat, and is just like the Red-vented, except for the addition of a vivid red patch under the eyes, and clear white cheeks. On the whole he is much the most attractive of these three noisy, cheerful little birds.

The Burmese call the Red-vented Bulbul *Bo-pin-nce*,¹ or 'The Red Seated Chief.' The Shans call it *Nok-Sau-Pu*, which means 'Bird Lord Betel,' or 'Betel Seller's Bird,' from the fact that its early-morning song is supposed to rouse up the people who have to go and gather fresh betel leaves.

The *Black-crested Yellow Bulbul*, whose general colouring is black, yellow and white, with a pronounced black cockade, is comparatively rare, but is sometimes found near a little marsh at 'Laughing Waters' in Loimwe.

* * * * *

The Mynah of Loimwe is the common, brown *House-Mynah*. But down on the Keng Tung Plain there are at least three other kinds more common. One is the *Siamese Mynah* which is really a very handsome bird. He is dark brown, almost black, except for white patches upon the wings and tail, which appear when he flies. He has a tuft of feathers like a coronet over his beak. He is essentially a jungle bird, and is extraordinarily numerous, though rather shy.

The second is the *Pied Mynah*, which is brown (or black) and white. The plumage is most irregular, and varies in each bird. The third is the *Black Necked Mynah*, which is, I believe, the biggest of all Mynahs. He has a noisy but pleasant cry. Though shy, and less common than the Siamese Mynah on the Keng Tung plain, he is still very much in evidence with his creamy-yellow head, and soft brown upper plumage dashed with white bars. He is also easily recognised by his broad black collar, by a yellow patch under the eye, and by the creamy-white of the under plumage. This is a jungle bird. It goes about in pairs, and not in flocks like other Mynahs.

The Burmese call the Mynah *Chwey-sa-yet*,² or "Buffalo Mynah," from its habit of sitting on the backs of buffalos. A certain amount of sanctity attaches to it from the fact that its talking, as it prepares for bed at night, is supposed to be a recitation of holy stanzas.

The Imperial green pigeon is called in Burmese *Hgnet Nga Nwa*,³ or "Mr. Ox Bird." Its cry is said to be like the lowing of cattle: and I need hardly add that it is the incarnation of a buffalo.

And that reminds me that there is a legend which explains why the buffalo has no front teeth in his upper jaw. Perhaps you knew that he hadn't. Or perhaps, like me, you will have to go and look into a buffalo's

¹ ချိပ်ဝင်း

² ချွေရတ်

³ ဂွေဝင်း

mouth to satisfy yourself about it. This sport is rather like Mark Twain's flea hunting. "*First catch your buffalo.*"

Any how, long long ago, the buffalo was sent out to repeat the following words:—

*Pey ta thee: Chee ta tha: Saba thone thee,*¹ which means, 'Every season when the *Pey-tree* fruits once, and the crow rears one family, let there be three crops of paddy.' Unfortunately, the buffalo, who is very stupid, got muddled. He said, '*let there be one crop of paddy*' instead of saying '*let there be three crops.*' So that is why there is only one crop of rice every year, and also why the buffalo has no upper front teeth, for his master was so annoyed, that he kicked them down his throat.

As a rule there are several versions to each story, and you can take your choice. With reference to the loss of the buffalo's upper front teeth, it is also said that formerly the horse had horns but no teeth. Having invited the buffalo to come and bathe with him, he put off his horns. The buffalo put off his teeth; and so they went down into the water together. But the horse, in whose mind there was an evil conspiracy, came to the bank, seized the buffalo's teeth, and made off with them, leaving his horns behind for the buffalo. Seeing this, the poor buffalo cried:—

*Ngar Ha! Ngar Ha!*²

which means "*My property! My property.*" That has been his cry ever since; and from this incident suspicion arose between the horse and the buffalo, which you may have observed, upon being shied with into a ditch. However, at the time, the horse, unable to contain his amusement, laughed:—

Hee Hee Hee

But to return to our subject which is birds.

The *Blue Burmese Roller* is very numerous both in hill and plain—a beautiful brown bird, with sea-green cap, and exquisite gleams of blue when he extends his wings for flight. But when examined closely through strong glasses, the whole breast is seen to glow with rich tones of violet and pale green. There is no bird more beautifully coloured than this Burmese Roller. He is very much like a Jay, but the true Jay (which is said to be rare in Burma) is distinguished by a blue-and-black check on the wings, and a white patch on the back. The natives say that it is unlucky to kill a Roller, and that if it is shot, a corresponding gap will occur in your own family. This is also said more especially with reference to birds (like the Laughing Thrush) which move about in gangs, or families. The Roller does not usually do this, but sits alone on a dead bough, on telegraph wires, or on any other commanding perch. He seems to drop off when he takes to flight, and then reveals all his hidden blue beauty.

The most conspicuous of all the Keng Tung birds is the King Crow, which is called *Lin-Mee-Zwey*³ in Burmese. The name is derived from *Lin-da*,⁴ a Vulture: *mee*, a tail: and *zwey*, to catch, i. e., '*Vulture's-tail-catch-bird.*'

¹ ပေတသီး ကျီးတသား ဓူးသုံးသီး

² ငဟါ၊ ငဟါ၊

³ လင်းမီးဆွဲ

⁴ လင်းဒ

This refers to the way in which it became King of all the birds in a contest which was to settle the matter. It was decided that who-ever flew highest should be king. Of course, the vulture flew high above all the rest, and after resting a little on his wings, descended. The King Crow, however, had seized his tail, and being thus carried up, was able to ascend still higher. He has ever since maintained his supremacy, and is frequently to be seen chasing crows and vultures, as well as birds smaller than himself. He is very conspicuous because of his habit of choosing commanding perches on stakes, buffalos, and posts, from which he sallies forth on expeditions, returning again to the same place. The King Crow, or Drongo, has a forked tail. The *Lesser Racket-Tail Drongo* is exactly like him at a little distance, except that its tail is not forked, but squarish, with the two central feathers slightly elongated. It has also just the same habits as the King Crow.

The *Malay Spotted Dove* is seen in numbers on and near the road. It has a dark ruddy brown, mottled wing. There is a patch of black, dotted with white spots, on either side of the neck. It is in fact plain, and has a little excuse for its coy, shy manners, as have most Indian Women. Doves, by the way, are credited in India with piety; for it was the Dove which strove to indicate Joseph's place of confinement in the well, by calling "Yusuf ku: Yusuf ku" (Joseph is in the well). The crow on the other hand, is infamous, for it tried to betray Mahommed's hiding place in the cave of Jabel Thaur by calling "*Ghar: Ghar*" (Cave: Cave).¹

I am sorry to have to exclude the pretty Hoopoe from my friendship; but all the evidence goes to show that he is a dirty little bird. Pallas records that a Hoopoe once nested in a human corpse. Harrington says it likes "smelly surroundings" and "ejects foetid fluid"; and some-one (Moses I suppose) condemns it in Leviticus XI: 19 that it "should be an abomination unto you."

The bird actually mentioned in Leviticus is 'Lapwing,' but it is supposed to be a mis-translation for Hoopoe. Finn gives the Latin name as *Upupa*, and the Greek as *Epops*.

Mahommedan legends are much kinder to the Hoopoes, which are said to have flown in great numbers over King Solomon, so as to shield him from the sun. Asked what reward they would like, they said 'golden crowns.' These were given to them. But they were so persecuted for the gold, that Solomon mercifully exchanged them for the feather crowns they wear now.

Wood-peckers are called *Thit tauk ma*² in Burmese, i. e., 'Wood knock birds.' They are extremely numerous in the *Enchanted Wood*. Here in Loimwe, there are at least six varieties, but Harrington says that altogether 36 kinds are found in Burma. The only one of them I have identified is the '*Spotted-Breasted Pied-Wood-pecker*'—a bird with a red cap, and with the body barred black and white. It is by no means the finest. The most splendid, I call the *Great Golden-Crested Wood-pecker* by reason of the golden mane extending up the neck, and ending in a crest high over the head. It is a shy, apprehensive bird, and is most often seen as a bronze streak, darting

¹ Lockwood Kipling.

² သစ်တောကွဲ

away at top speed through the trees. I have seen it in Loimwe and also in the foot-hills near Murng Lap. Another, I call the *Zebra Wood-pecker*. He is black, with white zebra stripes across the body. The face is white, and there is crimson under the tail. The breast is drab, with black spots splashed down it. Many of them are energetic carpenters. The rapping and knocking of Wood-peckers is heard everywhere in the *Enchanted Wood*.

The Wood-pecker, by the way, has now the distinction of having been a British War cry, and a typically inconsequent one too. What must the Germans have thought on receiving the following reply across 'Plug Street' to the latest, and most venomous, 'hymn of hate.'

I put my finger in the Wood-pecker's hole.
But the Wood-pecker cried "Got straffe your soul
Take it out. Take it out. Take it out.
Remove it."

* * * * *

Where the hill-sides are covered with bushes and scrub, the Babblers skulk and hide in thickets. They are fussy, excited, nervous birds, calling unwelcome attention to themselves by their jabber and furtive movements. There are many here which appear to be unidentified. The most interesting Babbler in Loimwe is *David's Scimiter Babbler*, so called because of his long curved beak. It is a pretty brown bird, just like a thrush. It has chestnut flanks. The white breast is streaked down with black spots and bars. I have been lucky in surprising this bird several times at very close quarters.

The *Laughing Thrush* occupies the same bushy country, and is also nervous and noisy; but as it moves on ahead of you with hops and short flights, it is more conspicuous. These birds, like their cousins the *Seven Sisters*, always move in gangs of six or seven.

Observation shows that birds each have their own favourite locality. Just as you move in a fixed area between your house, the office, and the club, so the same King Crow, the same Roller, the same Mynahs and Hoopoes, frequent the same posts, glades or lawns, where you can be pretty sure of meeting them again.

* * * * *

Of the Shrike family three kinds are common, namely the *Burmese Shrike*; the *Black Headed Shrike* whose jet black head, ashy breast and chestnut wings are conspicuous; and lastly the *Scarlet Minivet*.

Minivets are comparatively common in Loimwe, and with the Golden Oriole are the *most showy* birds in the *Enchanted Wood*. The male is crimson, and the female yellow. Both have black markings on head and wings. The yellow female Minivet is nearly always accompanied by her scarlet husband. Another species found here has the entire head and shoulder jet black, but is otherwise scarlet. The Burmese call this lovely bird *Hgnet Min-tha*¹—the Prince of birds.

¹ နှစ်ခင်းသား :

The *Golden Oriole* is said not to spread eastward from India, but I believe that it does so all the same. Both in the Keng Tung plain, and on Loimwe Hill, there is a fine Oriole, rather smaller in size than a pigeon. He is a lovely, alert, strong-winged bird; rich canary yellow *all over*, with touches of black (or in youth black-green) on head and wings.¹

There is no observation made in this paper that may not be obtained with field glasses and a little patience. I have never once found it necessary to shoot a bird for examination. Sometimes I have come across them dead, and benefited from that. But I have found that sooner or later even the shyest birds fall victims to a pair of glasses, and seem then too surprised to move. In such lucky encounters I have had the Shama, the Cuckoo, and even the nervous Scimiter Babbler under the closest observation for five minutes at a time. It was evident that the birds decided I was not dangerous.

There are times when the bird-world feels cheerful as in sunshine, or depressed as in dull or misty weather. Nothing quenches their song like mist. The stillness of a fog is oppressive just because all those bird voices which pass unnoticed, are really necessary to our comfort. We miss them directly they are gone. A restful silence is simply the blending of a hundred un-obtrusive little sounds.

It is very curious how soon even nervous birds get accustomed to terrifying noises, such as the roar of trains. I was thinking of this the other day on the rifle range, as I watched the unconcern of some bulbuls. In Jhelum, where the rifle ranges were built in a swamp (after the approved pattern of Budgepore), good snipe shooting was to be had in the butts! I have since read that birds nest in *No-man's-land* between the British and German trenches in Flanders, in spite of the ceaseless war-fare. In the lull of a bombardment, the voices of Nightingales are often heard.

Since writing the above paragraph, I have seen the *Times'* Correspondent's account of the Battle of the Somme (July 1916). He says:—"The most wonderful and appalling thing was the belt of flame which fringed a great arc of the horizon before us. The noise of the shells was terrific, and when the guns nearest to us spoke, not only the air, but the earth beneath us, shook. All the while amid the clamour and shock, in the darkness, and as night paled to day, the larks sang. Only now and again would the song be audible, but when-ever there was an interval between the roaring of the nearer guns, above all the more distant tumult, it came down clear and very beautiful by contrast. Close by us, somewhere in the dark, a quail kept ceaselessly urging the guns to be "*Quick-be-quick*."

* * * * *

On the other hand, another correspondent observed that numbers of linnets (which are apparently very sensitive little birds) were found dead in Lincolnshire, with their ear-drums split by the shock of distant cannonading in France. That was in 1915. In 1916 a linnet survived a Zeppelin bomb, which blew its cage to bits. This increased hardihood of course can only be ascribed to the brutalizing influence of war on linnets!

¹ I believe this is not the *Black Headed Oriole*.

It was observed that Pheasants showed great uneasiness during the North Sea Battle of January 1915, though the rumble of guns was only just audible.

I have mentioned a few (only a few) of the Show birds of the *Enchanted Wood*. But it contains many, many others. Some are so small that they look like swarms of bees as they fly in flocks through the trees. Very few of these are showy, except a tiny Burmese *Avadavat*, which is black over the head and back, with a bright scarlet patch on his otherwise yellow-green breast. But even the quiet coloured ones are very neat and pretty, as for example a tiny grey fellow, with white eyebrows, and rufous tail—a truly charming little morsel of life. They seem of all living creatures, the simplest and happiest, as they skip and chirp in the sunshine, or fly in swarms with joyous bounding flight.

* * * * *

VOICES IN THE ENCHANTED WOOD.

From dawn, when the *Red Trousered Bulbul's* soft cries
Are warning the Sellers-of-Betel to rise;
When sparrows are up in a chattering throng,
The voices of birds call you all the day long:
Moaning and whistling and song.

The Jays in the sunshine gleam blue as they go,
And brilliant the Minivet's scarlet wings show.
The Weaver-birds to-and-fro hurry their flight
Busily weaving the homes which at night
Gleam with the fire-fly's glow.

The Crow-pheasant mournfully moans 'whoop whoop whoop.'
The sharp little cries of the Swifts as they swoop:
The Wood-peckers tapping away at the trees:
The Cuckoo says "*Yauk-hpa kwey-kaw*" in Burmese,
("Brother! oh, call the dog please.")

Now these are a few of the voices you hear
Incessantly calling. But others are near;
Others, of birds which have lit and have flown
Evading your search: for they live all alone,
Shy little lives of their own.

CAPT. C. M. ENRIQUEZ.

WHO ARE THE LAOCHINS?

The following account of the Laochins taken from a paper read before the Mythic Society, Bangalore, by A. Meryvan Smith, Engineer, M. I. M. M., Lond., on "Some Primitive Tribes in India," may interest not only our ethnologists but prove useful to prospectors desirous of discovering and push-

ing our gold mines. The quaint spelling of the few Burmese words which occur in the extract is in keeping with the announcement made by the author in the opening sentence of his paper, where he acknowledges that he makes no profession of dealing in a scientific manner with the origin of the people described, nor does he treat of their ethnology. He merely gives his impression of some of the wild tribes he met with in the course of his search of "the metal which, more than any other, rules the destinies of civilized nations." The spelling of Burmese place-names is less puzzling than the geography of the locality in which the Laochins were found by the author.

After a short account of the Mulchars of the Koondah Mountains (a spur of the Neilgherries) and of the Kadirs of the Anamalais in Southern India, Mr. Mervyan Smith proceeds to tell of his visit to Burma, but it is best to have the story as written by him:—"It is a big jump from South India to the Upper Chindwin a matter of 2,000 miles in a direct line, but a Mining Engineer has to go where he is ordered by the powers that be. A new line of railway was being traced from Mandalay to the Chinese frontier beyond Mit-china; a couple of adventurous Belgians had received a contract for some earthwork near Kathay. In their search for labour, they said they had struck a region rich in gold, on the Upper Chindwin. They threw up their contract and appeared in Calcutta with several decent nuggets and some ounces of gold-dust. They offered to sell their discovery to some Calcutta capitalists, and I was directed to go and verify the find. As the Chindwin was a notoriously disturbed district and the Laos were noted head-hunters, I had to apply for permission to visit this district from the Revenue Secretary to the Government of Burmah. I called on this gentleman at his office in Rangoon. He received me courteously, but on learning my mission, he absolutely refused to grant me a permit, as it was not safe to go among the Laos without an armed escort, and this he could not spare at that time as the country north of Mandalay was still in a disturbed state owing to the recent war with Theebaw. I told him I was not afraid to travel without an armed escort as I always went well armed myself. He laughed and said that even if I had a dozen revolvers on my person I would be only one among many head-hunting savages and I was certain to be killed. I told him I had something more efficacious than firearms, and that I always carried these weapons in my hand-bag. He was anxious to see these life preservers, when I took from my bag a bottle of bright coloured sugared almonds, a bundle of cigars and a tin of Swiss milk. I said I had travelled over the wildest parts of Burmah without firearms and always found the sugared almonds, cigars and condensed milk of use. When I entered a strange village I walked a little way ahead of my servants, whistling as I went along. Presently a youngster would peer out at me from behind the poles on which the Burmese build their houses. I would offer a bright coloured sugared almond to the little one. If it were too frightened to come, I would throw the sweetie gently towards it and walk on. A number of children would gather round the strange object and one bolder than the rest would take it up and then taste it. It would pass from hand to hand each taking an eager suck. Soon I would have quite a following of youngsters and to each I would give a sugared almond, when off they would run with their booty to their mothers.

Then the women would come out to look at the stranger who gave nice things to their children. Knowing that all Burmese women smoke, I would offer the ladies cigars and soon I was friends with the whole village. 'But what do you do with the tinned milk' said the now laughing Secretary. 'Oh! that is my great standby.' I always lodge if I can in the Pungee Choung, or Buddhist monastery to be found in most Burmese villages. The monks won't smoke nor do they care for sugared almonds, but they are inordinately fond of honey, and they believe that condensed milk is sugary honey. I have seen a fat old monk take a freshly opened tin of milk, toss back his head and allow every drop to drain down his throat and then set down the empty tin with a sigh of satisfaction. So I make friends with the Pungees thus straightening out all difficulties. I live in the Choung without fear. They found me carriers for my luggage and gave me all the information I wanted, and even sent on a lay brother in advance to announce the expected arrival of their whiteman friend to the brotherhood of the next village I visited. The Belgians did not put in an appearance so I set off to Kathay to find the place for myself from the description given by the discoverers, and it was on the upper marches of the Chindwin to the west of the Mangthoung Mountains that I made the acquaintance of the Laochins. My interpreter told me the Laochins were half monkeys, and that they lived in caves, some natural and others made by man while quarrying out blocks of white alabaster from which the Burmese carve their images of Buddha. I came across a colony of these people in one of the large quarries. They were feeding at the time on a substance that looked like green paste. This I found afterwards to be 'La Pay' (pickled tea) a common condiment all over north Burmah and Thibet. They were not in the least alarmed at our approach but went on calmly chewing and swallowing the tea leaves. They appeared to be perfectly nude, and to be covered with a coarse greyish hair. On closer inspection, I found they wore a close fitting garment made from the skin of the giant Baboon found on these hills. When they kill a Baboon they strip off the skin from the carcase after cutting off the head, half the upper arms and the lower part of the body from near the tail. The warm skin is drawn over the body of the Lao with hair outside and this shirt is never taken off until it drops to pieces with wear. It is this hairy coat that accounts for their being mistaken for Baboons. They are a very simple people. The tea tree is indigenous in this district, and it grows to a height of from twenty to thirty feet and has a stem about nine inches in diameter. The young tea leaves are plucked off, in bunches of half a dozen on a single stalk, a little earth-salt is sprinkled over the leaves and they are rammed into hollow bamboos and steamed. The ends of the bamboo tube are luted with damp clay and the tea stored away for future use. Thus pickled the leaves will keep good for years. They also eat a large white grub found in the bark of the Gurgeon trees which abound in the valleys. I would like to draw attention to their method of making fire by friction. Among the Kolarian and pre-Dravidian tribes of Hindustan Proper a dry twig of soft wood is laid horizontally on the ground and held in position by the feet. A pencil of hard wood with a pointed end is inserted perpendicularly in a small hole in the horizontal twig and the pencil is revolved rapidly backward and for-

ward between the palms of the hand. The friction thus generated sets the soft wood burning, and this is blown to a flame. Among the Mongolian tribes of Further India (Burmah and Thibet) this method is never practised. A piece of dry bamboo is cracked along its length. Into this crack a little bamboo dust scraped from the interior of the horizontal piece, is inserted. Another piece of dry bamboo is used like a saw across the horizontal piece and the friction soon sets the bamboo dust alight. I have not seen this mentioned in books of travel."

The coats of Baboon skins put on as soon as stripped from the bodies of the Baboons and the original method of making fire not mentioned in books of travel, are interesting, so too is the preparation of *letpet*. Mr. Mervyan Smith would seem to have heard of the wild Was, who are to be found on the Salween, but the wild Was wear no clothing at home and use a coarse home woven material when out visiting. They grow rice, buckwheat, beans, and maize, but their chief crop is poppy. They are innocent of pickled tea, which is grown and manufactured more to the west of the Salween, by the Rumai and Palaungs. The Shans are said to be known to the Siamese as Laos, while the Chins are far removed from them. Perhaps some member of the Burma Research Society or other person who has been among the people of the "upper marches of the Chindwin" could tell us some thing of the Laochins. Two Germans tried to get through the wild Wa country but they did not return with nuggets of gold. They paid for their adventure with their lives.

E. H. SEPPINGS.

BURMESE FUNERAL RITES.

I believe almost all Burmans know what rites are performed on the death of a Burman; but I doubt if they know the meanings of all these rites. I am therefore going to write some notes on these important rites.

As you know when a Burman dies, the body is carefully washed in warm or cold water and then deposited with the face upward on a prepared raised bed in the main room of the house. It is then dressed in the best clothes the deceased possessed. The 2 big toes and the thumbs of the body are tied up with strings made, often, of locks of the hair of a son or a daughter, or of his wife, if the deceased was a father. A silk (ဝေ) *Pawa* is often laid across the neck. In the mouth are put a few pieces of gold, silver or copper, and in some localities, also some chewed betel.

After the body has been prepared in this manner, it is laid out in state for some time for inspection by relatives and friends, and then it is put into a coffin.

On the day fixed for the funeral, the coffin is taken by relatives and friends to the cemetery. On arrival there, the coffin is carried round the pyre or the grave 3 times; or instead of doing that, the coffin is simply swung 3 times backwards and forwards at the grave. This act is called U taik the (ဦးတိုက်သည်).

The lid of the coffin is opened for the relatives and friends to have a look at the body for the last time. It is again nailed down after the *Tharanga-un tin* and *yesetcha* (ဧရာဝတီ) ceremonies have been performed if the coffin is to be buried. If the body is to be cremated, it is put on the pyre and burned to ashes. When the fire has burnt out, the remnants of the bones are collected, washed in cocoanut water, and finally deposited in a suitable place according to the rank of the deceased.

Cremation is more compatible with Buddhist ideas, as it exhibits the process of destruction of the body for purposes of meditation, and that being so, cremation was generally practised in olden days; but nowadays burial has been more common throughout Burma.

Now the questions to be raised are:—

1. Why is cold or warm water used in washing the body?
2. Why are money and betel put into the mouth of the body?
3. Why are the big toes and the thumbs tied up, why is a Pawa (ပုခံ) placed across the neck, and why are the ties on the toes and the thumbs cut off with a knife at the cemetery before cremation or burial?
4. Why is the coffin carried round the pyre or the grave 3 times; and why is it swung 3 times backwards and forwards at the grave?
5. Why is cocoanut water used in washing the bones?

I made enquiries about these from the Burmans in several parts of Burma for many years; but I could obtain no satisfactory answer from them. Only about 3 years ago when I made enquiries into these matters among the Talaings in the Pa-an Sub-Division, Thaton District, after I had learnt their language, I came to know the meanings of these rites well. These Burmese funeral rites are only a portion of the elaborate system of the Talaing funeral rites which are prescribed in a Talaing book called *Slaput Kalate* (သုတေသန)။ The book is often read in funeral houses in the Sub-division, and the rites prescribed therein are generally performed by the Talaings there. The book is not to be found in Burmese literature. Such being the case, Burman Buddhists have been performing some of the Talaing funeral rites—without knowing their meanings.

When Anorata, the Burmese King of Pagan, conquered Thaton—which was the Talaing country in about 420 B. E., he took away from Thaton all available books and many people including Pongyis to Pagan. It appears that the Burmans then copied the funeral rites from the Talaings.

The book says that a Buddhist priest named Kala-te (ကလေး) prescribed funeral rites during the life time of the Buddha, on the occasion of the death of Kema (ခေမ) a very beautiful unmarried girl who was the only daughter of a rich man named Dhamma Citra (ဓမ္မစိတြ) in the City of Thawatti (သောတ္ထိ), so that the persons who witnessed the performance of these rites might get insight into the real nature of the world and thereby become Ariyas (အရိယာ). It is said that the priest himself became Rahanta (i. e., Buddhist Saint) by meditation, while witnessing the performance of the rites, and that many

others became Ariyas of various degrees such as Thotapan (သောတပဏ္ဍိ), Thagadagam (သမ္မာဒဂမ္မ) &c. As his system of the funeral rites was proved to be very beneficial, it has been handed down to later generations.

The system was reduced to writing in Talaing apparently soon after Buddhism came to Burma. I do not know when or who wrote the book *Slaput Kalate*. The book does not give this information.

For want of space and of time, I cannot give a full translation of the book here. I intend to translate the book into Burmese before long for the benefit of those who do not know Talaing.

Now I am going to answer the questions raised above in order. I—*Kala-te* (ကာလတေ) prescribed the ceremony of the washing of the body in boiled water after it had been allowed to get cool. An *Akutho* (အကုသိုလ်) i. e., a bad deed causes the doer to suffer in hell and so it is represented by hot water. A *Kutho* (ကုသိုလ်) i. e., a good deed, which is done with an intention to enjoy the pleasures of life in an existence causes the doer to be born again and again only to die repeatedly in the floods of existence called *Thanthara*, and so this *Kutho* is represented by warm water. This ceremony therefore teaches that one who does a bad deed or a good deed of the kind mentioned above, cannot escape the miseries of birth, decay and death and that if one wishes to escape these and reach *Nibban*, he should purify his mind in the water of the eight noble paths called *magganga* by practising them with diligence.

II—A *Putuzan* i. e., an ordinary man always endeavours to acquire property. He does things both lawful and unlawful for acquisition of the same. When he has acquired it, he cannot part with it for the good of others. But when he dies, he can not take away any of the property which he has coveted so much—not even the few pieces of gold or silver that have been put into the mouth. When he dies, he cannot enjoy any thing. He cannot even chew the betel that has been put into the mouth by others.

To show all these, the ceremony of putting money and betel into the mouth has been prescribed.

People who do not know these hidden meanings, call the money *kadoga* (i. e., ferry toll) but they cannot explain why betel has been put into the mouth.

III—The tie on the toes and that on the thumbs, and the placing of a *Pawa* across the neck which indicates the tying-up by the neck represent attachments respectively to one's wife, to one's property and to one's children. These attachments are the really strong ties of *Thanyozan* (သံဃာဇဉ်) which can be cut off only by the wisdom of the *Ariyamag* (အရိယမဂ္ဂ) which is likened to a knife—so long as one has attachment to these, so long will one be tied down to the world of *Thanthara* (သံသရာ). The tying of the body and the cutting off of the ties teach this lesson.

IV—A *Putuzan* (ပုပ္ဖုဉ်), i. e., an ordinary man, has to be going round the three planes of existence called *Kama*, *Rupa* and *Arupa*, constantly undergoing birth, decay and death therein, on account of his desire and craving for existence and various sensations of pleasure and delight arising out of it. The ceremony of carrying the coffin round the pyre or the grave three times explains away this meaning.

It appears that Burmans, nowadays generally perform the rite of swinging the coffin three times backwards and forwards at the grave, as they forget the correct procedure.

The ceremony, however, conveys the same meaning as above.

V—The use of cocoanut water by Burmans does not agree with the manner in which it is used by Talaings. The latter sprinkle a cup of ordinary water and cocoanut water on the dead body at the cemetery just before cremation or burial. The ceremony is in accordance with the book. Ordinary water is, as you know, not clean. It is polluted with mud, &c., and that being so, the mind of a Putuzan which is polluted with Kiletha (ကိလေသာ) i. e., passions, is represented by the ordinary water. The mind of a Rahanta (i. e., a Buddhist Saint) being free from passions is very serene, and so it is represented by the cocoanut water which is clean and free from dirt. This ceremony therefore teaches that one can escape birth, decay and death only when one has possessed the serene state of mind by attaining the Arhatship. Thus it will be seen that the principal Burmese funeral rites are of very sublime Buddhist ideas. They teach the four noble truths. I do not touch on the minor points of the Burmese ceremonies, as they are unimportant.

A dead body is called Kamathan (ကမ္မဇာတိ), (i. e., an object for meditation), and a funeral house is called the house of Kammathan in Talaing. From this it is presumable that in olden days the Talaings treated their funerals in a proper manner; but nowadays most of the Talaings as well as Burmans, especially those who reside in the districts, have turned the house of Kammathan into one of merriment by permitting all sorts of amusements—such as dancing, singing, gambling, and what not,—to be going on there-in whole day and whole night. Joyous scenes are to be witnessed also in their funeral processions. The idea of these people appears to drown sorrow in amusements.

I think this is very wrong. Their behaviour is quite against moral decency and Buddha's teachings. I was very glad to notice the absence of such improper proceedings in the funeral of the late Hon'ble U Tun Myat which took place recently in Rangoon.

A Buddhist Society called the Thathanadhara in Moulmein has been doing good work in bringing about reforms in Buddhist funerals. I hope Y. M. B. As. and other Buddhist Societies in Burma will do the same, so that unnecessary expenses may be avoided and advantage may be fully taken of Buddha's valuable teachings on these solemn occasions.

KYAW DUN.

SOME PHILOLOGICAL NOTES ON MY COMPARATIVE LIST.

James Hadley, LL.D., the writer of the brief history of the English language in Webster's Dictionary says: "Whether the Indo-European has a primitive connection with any of the adjacent families is a question which has never been, and perhaps will never be, decided by philological evidence."

This is a counsel of despair. But he does not deny the possibility of such a connection. I have endeavoured to bring forward some evidence from the Burmese source and Dr. Stede has discovered a few grains among the chaff. This is very encouraging. At least, the chaff shows where more grains may be looked for by a diligent search on the part of those who know both Burmese and English. After publishing the somewhat favourable summary of his views in the last issue of this Journal, I feel I must not keep back his adverse comments on certain 'points of details.'

None would dare to break a lance in public with such an authority. But where scholars differ, students have merely to note the differences of opinion. Dr. Stede has rightly laid stress on the importance of the historical method in linguistic studies. First as regards the history of languages in general, Professor Max Müller and Schmidt maintained 'that the relations of the various languages are so complicated that it is impossible to establish any "genealogical tree" or to determine the order in which they separated from each other.' The prevailing view, however, was, we are told that of Lottner, Curtius, Jolly, Fick, and Scherer, namely that the European peoples remained united for a period of some duration after division from the primitive Aryan race. On the same principles the writer of the Encyclopedia Britannica article on the Greek Language advanced a theory that Latin and Greek had a common mother in the Graeco-Italian language. But the writer of the article on Philology questioned the near relationship of Greek and Italic and said that Greek and Latin are as about different both in phonology and grammatical structure as any two members of the Aryan family. In fact the Italic is considered to be more nearly related to the Celtic than to the Greek.

The Italian, the French, the Spanish and the Portuguese are called Romance languages as daughters of the Latin. The Greek civilisation preceded the Roman and the Roman nation preceded the Romance nations. But the political history of a nation is not necessarily identical with the linguistic history of its speech, though political changes, upheavals and conquests undoubtedly affect the languages of the peoples influenced or conquered.

According to the pedigree ultimately given by Schleicher, the Northern European stock branched off into Litu-Slavic and Germanic (Teutonic) from which the English language descended.

2. With these few preliminary remarks, I proceed to discuss the history of words in particular. Western scholars have agreed that the French word *chef* was derived from Latin *caput*. It would be idle, aye folly, on the part of an Oriental student to question this. It does not, however, appear that Latin *caput* was derived by descent from Greek, as stated by Father Fargeton in a private letter to me. In all probability it was derived from the common mother—the Southern European "base-language," if not the Graeco-Italian language referred to in my preliminary remarks. Dr. Stede seems to hold that Latin *caput* and Sanscrit *kapalla*—skull or cup, have been proved both phonetically and semantically to be identical. In Pali we have two forms—*kappara* and *kappura*—for skull. The former is evidently a later variant of *kapāla* which corresponds to Sanscrit *kapalla*. It is not improbable that Sanscrit also had the alternate form corresponding to Pali

kappura. If the common European language also possessed a corresponding form, it is possible that Latin *caput* was derived from that form, while Greek *kephalay* was derived from the form corresponding to Sanskrit *kapalla*. Now, the Greek word approaches nearer to the Sanskrit than the Latin does. Again, French *chef* is nearer in both form and sound to 'keph' of Greek *kephalay* than to 'cap' of Latin *caput*. Is it then altogether improbable that *chef* was derived not directly from Latin but from the common mother of Greek and Latin? This is a question of history.

3. I pass on to etymology. I said that etymology is a system of scientific guesses. Scientific guess! Is it not a contradiction in terms or thought? No scientist would brook the idea of calling his cherished science a guess. And yet Dr. Sweet on Phonetics said that 'etymology is a matter of balancing probabilities from first to last.' The too frequent use of such words as 'perhaps,' 'probably' or 'possibly' in recognised dictionaries illustrates the caution. But it will be urged that there are etymologers and etymologists. The former are a standard to themselves and the latter proceed on principles and infer the unknown from the known. In Dr. Stede's language, etymology is an attempt at the reconstruction of the psychological expressions of the ancients by reasoning from the psychological impressions of modern etymologists. But the fact that an erudite scholar after painful researches has succeeded in tracing a word to a root does not necessarily prove that the ancients did derive it in a manner supposed by him. European philologists arrive at what they call 'roots' mainly by artificial stripping of the signs of relations. 'But,' says Dr. Peile, 'we cannot suppose that our forefathers did this; we may be sure that they did not *speculate* about the history of their words. . . . Depend upon it, there was a history of language in those days, *which will never be written* any more than the other history of prehistoric man.'

4. But it is quite conceivable that there must have been a root stage in the unwritten history of a language, i. e., in the development of a language when roots denoting an action or function were used as integral words. And we, one and all, in the last resort "guess" those roots, sometimes correctly, very often wrongly. For instance, the Sanskrit word *kapalla* means both skull and cup. Was a cup called *kapalla* because the skull (*kapalla*) was used by the ancients as a cup? Perhaps this is a question for ethnology to decide. Or was the skull called *kapalla* because it is like a cup? If the former, the cup was named after *kapalla* (skull); if the latter, the skull was named after *kapalla* (cup). But the word *kapalla* for cup was formed analogously with, but independently of, *kapalla* for skull, from *ka*—water and root *pāl*—to keep. From this derivation we get the definition of a 'cup' as that which keeps the water. (*Kam udakam pāletīti, kapalla*)—Compare this derivation with the third derivation of *kapalla* for skull below.

Eastern scholars derive Pali *kappara* in more than one way:—

First, because of the existence of the alternative form *kappura*, it is derived from root *kapu*—to oppress, *plus* suffix *ara*;

Secondly, because of the form *kappara*, it is derived from root *kapp*—to be able, *plus* the same suffix; and

Thirdly, because of the older form *kapāla*, it is derived from *ka*—head and root *pāl*—to keep or guard. From this derivation we arrive at a most

sensible definition of 'skull' as that which keeps or guards the head (Kari sīsaṃ pāletīti, kapāla).

The first derivation is, of course, a random guess. The second, I say, is a reasonable guess, because capacity may be taken as a property of the head. And we speak of the capacity of a vessel or cup when we refer to its containing power. Therefore at first sight the word 'capacity' itself would seem to be connected with 'caput' or 'cup.' But there is no connection, since we also speak of the capacity of a room, etc. But was not 'capacity' for 'ability' derived from root *kap* or *kapp*—to be able? European scholars derive it from Latin *capere* or *capio*—to hold, contain or seize and Skeat connects it with 'have' and traces it to root *kap*, which he appears to have merely arrived at by a process of analysis of cognate words in different languages without a reference to Pali tradition. The root *kap* in Pali means to be able, to pity, to cover, to tremble, but not to have, hold or seize.

The third derivation is what I call a scientific guess, because, apart from the seemingly correct significance conveyed by the definition of the word, this last formation receives its support from the Sanscrit and Greek forms of it and this support is further strengthened by the fact that Pali had already possessed a distinct word *ka* for head, a fact which clearly shows that the idea of skull was derived from that of head instead of the reverse maintained by Europeans E.g. Latin *caput*—the head from Sanscrit *kapalla*—the skull. I think we may now presume that 'p' was reduplicated in Pali *kappara* or *kappura*; and that 'p' in Sanscrit *kapalla* and Latin *caput*, 'ph' in Greek *kephalay*, and 'f' in French *chef* of the Southern European base as well as 'ff' in German *koff* or 'p' in German *haupt* and 'b' in Gothic *haubith* of the Northern European base was not part of the original, primitive word for head but was each merely annexed from the root *pāl*. Our trouble is not yet over. It just begins. The question remains—Why did the ancient Aryans call the head *ka*? A thing was named because of a certain idea in their heads of someone action or function which they denoted by a root. What function of our head would strike the ancients as its property? Certainly not thinking. Apart from the fact that the ancients did not develop their thinking powers in their primitive stage, there are still people among Orientals who attribute thinking to the heart rather than to the head. Is it then ruling? In the absence of the further history of the word, Eastern scholars have made more guessings. They derive *ka*—head from root *kar*—to make, as they do *ka*—water from the same root. A head or water is that which makes or does! Of course, they supply the object of the verb 'makes' or 'does' in order to get the proper meaning in each case. Well, in the absence of a more reasonable explanation I have preferred provisionally to connect *ka*—head—(Middle English, *hed*) with root *khi*—to rule.

5. Professor Fick connected the word 'wheel' with Sanscrit *cakra*. I said I failed to see the connection. Dr. Stede has apparently derived it from *kra* or *qla*—to turn, reduplicated. We know numerous other examples of *k* or *q* becoming *hw* or *wh*. But do these analogies prove the etymology? Now, Sanskrit *cakra* corresponds to Pali *cakka* which Palists have attempted to derive from root *kar*—to do, reduplicated. And they have defined 'wheel' as that by which going is done. (Karoti gamanaṃ anenāti, cakkam). If

'made easy' be substituted for 'done' in the above definition, the sense is better brought out. Or they have also derived it in an alternative way from root *cakk*—to oppress and defined 'wheel' as that which oppresses the earth. (Cakketi, byathati, himsati bhūminti, cakkam). If we substitute the words 'overcomes (the friction of)' for 'oppresses,' we get a scientific definition.

Subhūti makes root *cak* to mean 'to turn' (*parivattati*). But this seems to be an error, since the *Abhidhānaṭīkā* from which the *Abhidhānappadīpika-sūci* was compiled reads *parivattakkati*—to plan or devise. Besides, if there be such a root as *cak*—to turn, nothing would be easier for local etymologists to derive *cakka* from it and define 'wheel' as that which turns (*Cakatiti, cakkam*). These attempts on the part of native scholars show that eastern tradition has not been aware of the existence of such a root as *kla*—to turn. I suggested root *ṣil*—to turn, both for our Burmese word *bhī*: and for European 'wheel.' If that be considered unsatisfactory, I venture to suggest another root *vaṭṭ*—to revolve, since in Burmese we have *vhe*—to wheel or veer round, probably from the same root.

6. As regards the English word *poke*, I never for a moment suggested that it, any more than other English words in my list, came directly from Pali or Sanscrit. I merely connected it with Pali root *buj*—to bore, in the same way as Skeat connects it with Gael *puc*—to push or as Mahn Webster's compares it to Low German *poken*—to pierce. The former further connects it with Irish *poc*—a blow and the latter compares it also with Dutch *pook*—to beat. But I should think that the Irish and the Dutch words were rather connected with a pre-Ariyan root which corresponds to Pali root *puṭh*—to strike and from which we Burmese seem to have derived our own word *put*—to beat. Skeat derives the word *poke* from root *puk*—to thrust. But neither he nor Dr. Mahn gives Latin *figo* of Dr. Stede, not even *foro*.

7. Dr. Stede restricts the use of the term 'agglutination' to a pre-historic process of composition and seems to call the agglutinative process still going on in historic times composition.

8. The equation of letters in the remarks column of my comparative list was primarily intended to show at a glance that examples may be phonetically explained. But the equation between a letter in a Burmese word and another in Pali cannot be said to be the equation of modern consonants any more than the similar equation between English Y and Latin J.

9. The comparison does not claim to supply the etymology. But it is intended to show that they must have sprung from a common source, however distant that source may be. I have selected modern English words, in most cases, merely as key-words to enable students to trace older forms and other European equivalents, if they like.

10. I have not guessed at *non-existent*, arbitrary roots. I have taken them from Ingan Sadaw's *Dhātvaṭṭha-saṅgaha*. Ingan was an eminent Pāli and Sanscrit scholar who consulted many Sanscrit works on roots when he compiled his own. His erudition is unquestionable. I have found in Ingan more roots and more varied meanings of roots than in Whitney's *Sanskrit-roots*. I also understand from other local scholars that Pali roots closely follow Sanscrit in meanings. I have tried to be faithful to the original in my renderings of Ingan's Burmese meanings of roots. But in one single

instance I gave the secondary meaning—‘to be light’ of root *lañgh*—to jump, when Ingan gives the primary meaning *khun-lhvā*:—to jump or leap. I was led to it from the consideration of *lañg’hu*=*la’hu*=light.

I have adopted Pali roots not as the oldest of all roots in the world but merely as indexes to the common source. Any Sanscrit scholar is at liberty to substitute Sanscrit. My troubles will be not so much with the Pali roots as with the etymologies of English words. For, it demands extraordinary courage on the part of an Oriental student to dispute the accepted derivations of European Scholars.

To select a few examples from the first page of my list.

From the remarkable agreement between the vulgar words for ‘ordure’ both in Burmese and English, I was emboldened to connect (*ex*)*creta* or (*ex*)*crement* with our (*a*)*kre*:—dirt through Pali root *kilis*—to be defiled. Europeans, however, prefer to connect them with Latin *cerno*—to sift or separate, and a Greek word from which *crisis* was derived. Again, European philologists had connected the word *camera* with root *kam* or *cam*—to be bent, because it happened to mean originally a vault in Italy. (By the way this root is not found in Ingan’s). But Dr. Stede has added the following side-note against the word *camera* in my list.—

Khand=Skt. *skand*=(Lat. *scando*). Latin *camera*=Skt. (?)*kmarati*, conn. w. ohg. (?)*himil* (cover, ceiling).

To my mind the roof is not so much an essential part of a room as its walls are.

Dr. Stede enters n. e. (not etymological) against *heat* and adds a side-note as follows:—

ad E. *heat*. Cf. Skt. *gharma*.

I admit that *warm* was connected with *gharma*, but I confess I fail to see the connection between *heat* and *gharma*.

Fick has become antiquated. Skeat still holds the field. I have had occasion in the course of these notes to take exception to the latter authority also. I will give one more instance. What word shall I select at random? Well, I will take the word ‘random’ itself. Skeat explains this word to mean ‘done at hazard.’ He derives Middle English *randon*—haste, from Old French *randon*—the force and swiftness of a great stream, and ultimately traces it to German *rand*—a brim, edge, verge or margin. He cites the French phrase *à randon*—in great haste and the word *randonner*—to run swiftly, also the Spanish *de randon* or *de rondon*—impetuously. (The idea of haste or swiftness is implied in the English word *run* which may in all probability have been connected with Pali root *rañ*—to go). Further, Skeat compares it to Swedish *rand*—a stripe, which was probably connected with Pali root *ranj*—to dye.

The Student’s Dictionary derives it from *rennan*—to flow and *dun*—down! But I have preferred to derive *random* in quite another way. Burmese has a word *yam*: *tam*—guessingly. We know the meaning of modern *yam*:—to guess, but we have forgotten what *tam* meant. As it has lost its original meaning we often take this now meaningless *tam* as the euphonic reduplication. In the phrase *yam: tam sam: tam* we closely see the reduplication of the original *yam: tam*. Now, in Pali we have a very similar phrase

yam vā tam vā to express anything said or done without previous calculation or thought. The Pali phrase literally means 'whatever.' Is it then improbable that *random*—rash or haphazard, was the corruption from pre-Ariyan *Yam tam*?

Enough has been said to show that various authorities have 'guessed.' But the following shocking etymology with which Austin K. Gray, B. A., late of Jesus College, Cambridge and Dandy Agate, B. A., seriously opened their chapter on the History of the English Language beats the earlier authorities in its flight of imagination.

'Our word *fear* is derived from the same root as *fare* and meant no more than a *journey* but by association with the dangers of travels in early days it came to mean a *sudden danger* and then later it developed a vague sense of something causing horror and mystery.'

Now, had these two learned authors been but initiated into the mysteries of the simple (?neo—) Ariyan root *bhi*—to fear, we would have been spared all this vague sense of the horrors of their dangerous journey in their dreadful etymological ship launched not to *fare* well in the perilous philological ocean. [Was the archaic Burmese *bhiu*—(woe) derived from the pre-Ariyan form of the root, while the modern *bhe*: (danger) from the neo-Ariyan?]

The appearance of such a derivation by such authorities as late as 1915 in a book that professes to serve as a guide to the English language is encouraging to a revolutionary student of the language. Therefore, I hope I shall be excused by my English readers for my audacity in questioning the European authorities by meeting them not so much on their own grounds as on the borderland.

S. Z. AUNG.

AN INTRODUCTION TO INDONESIAN LINGUISTICS.

The Editor of this Journal has done me an honour by requesting me to review a very important work under the above title. It is an English translation by Mr. C. O. Blagden, M.A., M.R.A.S., of the four essays of Renward Brandstetter, Ph.D., the well-known author of several monographs on Indonesian linguistics and literature. It was published in 1916 as volume XV of the Asiatic Society Monograph series. If we have undertaken to comply with the Editor's request, it is not because we feel qualified, for it would be better reviewed by one who knows the languages dealt with, but partly because the principles and methods adopted by the learned Doctor appeal to us and partly because his arguments and conclusions lend support to our own in pre-Ariyan research. Therefore we hope that the author and the translator will excuse us for our shortcomings.

Indonesia is the name given to the Eastern (or Indian or Malay) Archipelago which extends from Sumatra to New Guinea. But the Indonesian languages extend beyond these limits and cover the whole of Madagascar, the greater part of the Malay Peninsula, the Mergui Archipelago, some outlying tracts in Eastern Indo-China and a considerable portion of Formosa,

the principal insular regions being the Philippine, Celebes, Borneo, Java, Sumatra and Madagascar. These languages form the western division of the great Austroneasian (or Malayo-Polynesian or Oceanic) family of speech of which the two other divisions are the Micro-Melanesian and the Polynesian.

The translator in his interesting preface tells us that, 'of these three divisions, the Indonesian has best preserved the traces of its origin and supplies an essential clue to the study of the family as a whole.' Further he is of opinion that the whole family is of great linguistic interest and importance and fairly claims to rank with other great families of speech, such as the Indo-European, etc.

Dr. Brandstetter, though a Swiss by nationality, is of the Dutch school founded half a century ago by two eminent scholars, the late H. N. van der Tuuk and Professor Kern. But his monographs bear the stamp of originality in his treatment of the subject 'the thorough grasp of which is matched by soundness of his method and evidenced by the perspicuity of his exposition.' His fruitful labours in the interesting field of instructive Indonesian research would have remained a sealed book to us, but for that able and distinguished scholar, Mr. Blagden. Thanks to him, we are now permitted, through his faithful translation, a glimpse into an interesting part of the Oceanic continent.

The translator says that he has selected these four essays for three classes of students:—

- (a) Students of comparative philology in general;
- (b) Comparative students of Indonesian languages; and
- (c) Students of individual members of the family.

A brief summary of contents prefixed by the translator to each essay will be found useful.

What interests us is not so much the matter as the method. In this connection, the learned translator writes:—"It is the great merit of Dr. Brandstetter that he incidentally does much to teach his readers the scientific mode of procedure in linguistics."

The first essay, after setting out the theme of roots, discusses some preliminary questions of method.

The learned author lays down the following conditions all of which are excellent in their own ways:—

I. 'The work like the present should be built upon the phonetic basis.'

No one will dispute this, for a semantic connection must be supported by a phonetic equation. But, although arguments from analogy may lead us to wrong conclusions, we think that parallels which not only satisfy known phonetic laws but from which unknown phonetic laws may be deduced may be appealed to.

II. 'The material should be surveyed in its entirety.'

In the domain of comparative philology we have advanced the view—the wider the field of comparison, the better. We only regret that the author refused the assistance of light that could be thrown from the Austroasiatic languages on the ground that the Indonesian material had become extremely abundant. Authorities on the languages of the mainland of Asia may have

favoured caution. But is not caution the characteristic mark of comparative philology at its every step?

III. 'The material should not be raked together out of dictionaries and grammars by the wooden process of an amateur, but be vivified by the study of texts.'

Might not some of our Burmologists take this to heart and study Burmese literature before they pose as authorities to us in matters Burmese? But we would say that manuals compiled by competent authorities who have studied texts may be relied on. For instance, we may use with confidence the vocabulary of Indonesian roots prepared by the learned Doctor himself. Again, there are languages which do not possess any literature and we may have to deal with the spoken language only.

IV. 'The selection of the typical languages which have best preserved its archaic character in their phonetic system.'

In our own pre-Ariyan research we advanced the view that Burmese, the best known language in Burma, bids fair to be an effective instrument of research, because we considered that, with its conservative and monosyllabic tendencies favoured by past isolation, it would be one of the best preserved varieties.

V. 'Though not an absolute necessity, it will be a great convenience to introduce the idea of the Original Indonesian mother-tongue as an auxiliary factor.'

We said elsewhere that the assumption of a pre-Ariyan tongue as a working hypothesis helps us in fresh discoveries of facts to raise that hypothesis to a theory.

VI. The search for the root.

We shall have to dwell on this part of the subject later.

VII. Accent and quantity important in Indo-European research are of secondary importance in Indonesian research.

VIII. In the investigation of roots 'attention should be turned not merely to words of action but to words of things and mental states.'

Beside pronominal roots and other kinds of roots, in Pali most words denoting things were derived from roots denoting action. Even words of onomatopoeic origin are generally associated with some kind of action. Words of mental states are, as a rule, later phenomena in the development of a language and they are generally expressed by words denoting some physical action. E. g. In Pali *phassa* (contact) is a term applied to a mental phenomenon which *touches* an object of thought.

IX. Loan-words should be rigorously excluded from the study of roots.

We subjoin a list of a few words which may be loan-words:—

Gayo *kak*—"a raven"—Pali *kāko*—"a crow."

Common Indonesian *susu*—"breast"—Pali *susu*—"infant."

Tontemboan \sqrt{tas} —"to cut through"—Pali $\sqrt{dā}$ —"to cut."

Bisaya *ito*—"this"—Pali *idam*—"this."

Tagalog *gaway*—"to bewitch"—Pali *kavi*—"a wise person," the derivative *karwe* being the name given to a witch in Arakan and Burma.

Busang *do*—"day"—Pali *divā*—"day."
 Original Indonesian *hatay*—"heart"—Pali *hadaya*—"heart."
 Bisaya *motya* or *motia*—"pearl"—Pali *muttā*—"pearl."
 Toba *mate*—"dead"—Pali *mata*—"dead."
 Toba *laba*—"gain"—Pali *lābha*—"gain."
 Malagasy *Zanabuhitra*—"suburb"—Pali *janapada*—"outlying country," Burmanised into *janapud*.

Hatay was either borrowed, or derived from a common source. But we have Dr. Brandstetter's authority that it was Original Indonesian. As such it must have come from the common pre-Ariyan tongue. We shall show later that agreement cannot be fortuitous.

We shall also show a good many Burmese words in Indonesia.

We think that by far the most important branch of the subject is the search for the root. In Pali the root is obtained by lopping off the formatives. To illustrate.—

√*bhū*+formative suffix *a*+verbal ending *ti*.

The elaborate rules of Pali Grammar enabled scholars to isolate the root from a single word without having recourse to a comparison with other words either in the same language or others. Presumably the same method was adopted in Sanscrit. European philologists strip off the formatives from a number of words compared and retain the common part as root. The same method of comparison is extended to several languages in Indo-European research with Sanscrit roots to draw upon. Very often wrong roots may be drawn upon as in connecting *sere* or *sear* with Sanscrit *sush*. We venture to believe that there is a danger lurking in the mechanical method of comparison. If we were to compare Latin *caput*, French *chef*, Greek *kephalay*, and Sanscrit *kapāla* and after pruning off what we consider to be superfluous parts retain *cap* or *kap* as the root, we should be wrong. For we have shown elsewhere in the foregoing note that *p* did not belong to the root at all but was annexed from another word.

Dr. Brandstetter has applied both methods of the European school.

First he sought his roots by comparing words in an individual language. E. g.—

Old Javanese *ikēl*—"curly," *rinkēl*—"twisted," from which root *kēl* is extracted. But we are left to guess whether the root originally meant "crooked."

It will be borne in mind that the root *rēp* extracted from *rērēp*—"to fall asleep" and *sirēp* "to lull to sleep" (p. 13) is different from the root *pi* extracted from Old Javanese *ipi*—"to sleep" (p. 32).

The author, anticipating an objection because only two terms were compared, proceeded to compare three words or more. E. g.—

Karo *lintan*—"weal (on the body)," *rintan*—"row," *listan*, *tintan*—"rectili-near."

In all these examples the author was guided by the principle that formatives in Indonesian are generally prefixes. E. g. *Le* is the formative prefix and *dan* is the root in Karo *ledan*—"in a straight line." On this principle an unwary student would have jumped into the conclusion that *rok* in

Mentaway *rokdañ*—"in a straight line"—is a prefix, but for Dr. Brandstetter who on p. 49 clearly tells us that *rok* is a Mentaway root in itself meaning "in a straight line."

This disturbing factor cautions us against regarding the first *i* of Old Javanese *ipi*—"to sleep" as a prefix, especially in view of its remarkable agreement with Burmese *ip*—"to sleep." But what does the Mentaway combination of two roots having the same meaning point to? Now, we know that *tan*: in Burmese *cītan*:—"to arrange in a straight line" and *phroitān*:—"to be straight" also means 'a straight line' and *rō*: as in *rō:phron* means 'to be straightforward.' (We hold that *rō*: answers to 'right' or Latin *rectus* with all its other European kin). We are at liberty to combine the two and form *rō:tan*: in the same way as *rokdañ* in Mentaway. In other words, the Mentaway combination illustrates our theory of synonyms which we advanced in our study of Burmese.

If we apply the same method of comparison to Burmese and compare

kvanmrū:—"to support"

Rhvanmrū:—"to be merry"

Mrū:tū:—"to delight"

Rhvanlan:—"to be happy,"

we shall have to content ourselves with *rhvan* and *mrū*: as roots. As a matter of fact, they are words derived from earlier roots. E. g. *mrū*: from \sqrt{mud} —"to be amused," as we have shown elsewhere.

In order to get the Common Indonesian root, the Doctor compared words of several languages. He selected Karo in Sumatra and Bisaya in the Philippines, because they are geographically separated one from the other so as to preclude any idea of direct influence by contact. E. g.—Karo *ilar*—"to shine," Bisaya *dilag*—"bright:" root *lar* or *lag*.

The following argument and conclusion interest us:—

"How comes it then that they (i. e. Karo and Bisaya) have roots in common? Surely, it can only come from the fact that these roots belonged to Original Indonesian."

We have adopted the same line of argument in comparing Burmese to Icelandic (for example) for the purposes of our pre-Ariyan theory.

On p. 22 the author notices the phenomenon of monosyllabism out of a former dissyllabism. We have in an earlier paper discussed the parallel phenomenon of monosyllabification in Burmese.

Another phenomenon brought to light is that roots existed as independent words in Original Indonesian. This discovery is important inasmuch as some European philologists, Dr. Peile for instance, seem to think that there was no root stage in the development of a language and that we merely arrive at purely arbitrary roots by a process of analysis. In our comparative study of Burmese, we have found several current monosyllabic Burmese words which are roots as evidenced by the fact that they are still preserved intact as roots by Pali and Sanscrit Grammarians. E. g.—

Burmese *chan*—"to seem"—Pali \sqrt{sam} —"to seem."

We pass on to the second essay which is practically divided by the author into two parts.

In the first part he establishes the fact that there are common Indonesian phenomena by the comparative method based on phonetic laws. If any linguistic phenomenon be common to not less than seven out of ten areas of distribution (the seven insular regions mentioned above together with three border tracts) that phenomenon is classed as Common Indonesian. The author observes (p. 73): "Here we must first of all realize that our delineation of the Common Indonesian element must have two facets, a positive and negative side." This is only as it should be. The positive aspect points to a common origin, while the negative, to independent development after separation from the parent stock. And yet a good many people seem to think (and quite naturally, too) that if certain languages belong to the same family, they all must necessarily possess common words for the most elementary ideas, such as the first ten numerals, near relationships, etc. This, however, need not be the case, for the earlier common word may have been replaced by a later but stronger (i. e. more popular) word.

From Common Indonesian, the author infers his Original Indonesian. On p. 128 he writes: "We said in sec. I that the word *lanit* (meaning 'sky'), either unchanged, or modified in conformity with strict phonetic law, runs through a number of Indonesian languages. How do we account for this fact? By the *assumption* that there was once a uniform Original Indonesian language, which possessed the word *lanit* and from which its offshoots, when they parted away from it, took the word with them." Again, with reference to the word *wara*—"to be" which occurs in the Philippines, Java, the Eastern Border, and the South-Western Border, he writes (p. 132): "Yet how shall we explain the fact that it occurs at these four widely separated parts? Has each of these languages created it by itself? That would indeed be a remarkable coincidence particularly in view of the perfect phonetic agreements. Has the word migrated? Words with that kind of meaning are not much in the habit of migrating from one language to another; and how could it have skipped so many intervening territories? There will be no alternative left but to pronounce *wara* to be an Original Indonesian word like so many others."

The author thinks that because the word *wara* is found only in four areas instead of seven which he arbitrarily fixed, his conclusion as to *wara* being Original Indonesian is more or less hypothetical (p. 75). The evidence is a shade stronger in the case of *lanit* than in that of *wara*. But Original Indonesian, inferred whether from words of the *lanit* class or from the *wara* class, remains a theory. In other words, the original hypothesis has now changed itself into a theory supported by facts. This is exactly what we aimed at when we published our pre-Ariyan hypothesis without waiting on counsels of perfection.

By "Original Indonesian" the author means the last phase of the language which went through a process of evolution from the time it separated from the parental Austronesian family up to the time of subdivision (p. 128). We pointed out this kind of development in the case of pre-Ariyan tongue which we conveniently assumed in our research. The same remarks apply to the Austronesian family.

This family has, we are told by the translator, recently been linked up with another Asiatic family which includes Munḍa, Khasi, Mon, Khmer, Nicobere, Sakai, etc., and we are also informed by the author that researches of W. Schmidt show that the Austro-Asiatic languages on the mainland of Asia are in some way related to Indonesian languages (p. 25). The Austronesian family has therefore been reasonably considered to be genuinely of Asiatic origin, its primitive home being located somewhere in Eastern Indo-China.

The mention of Mon and Khmer brings the subject nearer home to us, for Khmer or Khamā is a Talaing word for 'Burman.' Talaing scholars might be able to discover Mon words in Indonesian. But we may indicate a few:—

Mon *kāng*—"gong"—Old Javanese *gon*—"gong."

Mon *kasā'o* "to curse"—Bugis *kacalla*—"accursed,"

leaving others to be inferred from the comparative list between Burmese and Indonesian. E. g.—

Burmese	Talaing	Indonesian
Kiuk (pr. kaik)	Kīt	√kīl—"to bite"
Phrū	Pu	Pote—"White"

We have deduced a Shan word *phai* (pronounced fai) for 'fire' in Indonesian words, viz., Karo and Bugis *api*, Common Indonesian *apuy* or Hova *afu*. The word for fire is no doubt onomatopoeic, having its origin in the sound of *phū*; or the like, produced in blowing. It is reflected in our Burmese *mī*: *pho* (fire-place) and *mī*: *phvā*: (a spark), as our word *mī*: (fire) is reflected in English word *match*, Latin *myxa*—"a lamp nozzle" and Low Latin *myrus*—"the wick of a candle."

We shall now glean some correspondences between Burmese and Indonesian 'with the wooden process of an amateur.'

Birmanese.	Burmese.
Oo—"bamboo"	— <i>wa</i> :—"bamboo."
Bisaya.	Burmese.
Goom—"to shut the mouth"	— <i>Nom</i> —"to enclose in the mouth."
Dayak.	Burmese.
<i>Papan</i> —"plank"	— <i>pyañ</i> —"plank."
<i>Lap</i> in <i>liplap</i> —"to sip noisily"	— <i>lyak</i> —"to lap or lick."
<i>Bunbom</i> —"to conceal under something"	— <i>phum</i> :—"to conceal."
<i>Kis</i> in <i>kiskas</i> —"to sneeze"	— <i>khyī</i> —"to sneeze."
<i>Ia</i> —"yes"	— <i>e</i> :—"yes."
Formosan.	Burmese.
Word-base <i>Xe</i> (<i>X</i> =ch in loch)— "dung"	— <i>khye</i> :—"dung."
<i>Lummi</i> s—"to glow"	— <i>lan</i> :—"to be lighted."

Gayo.	Burmese.
<i>Tumbuk</i> —"to beat"	— <i>put</i> —"to beat."
Hova.	Burmese.
<i>Keli</i> —"small"	— <i>kale</i> —"small"
Iloko.	Burmese.
<i>Sim</i> in <i>simsim</i> —"test"	— <i>cam</i> —"to test."
<i>Pak</i> in <i>pakapak</i> —"foliage"	— <i>phak</i> —"a leaf."
or <i>palapak</i> —"a leaf"	
Kamberese.	Burmese.
Word-base <i>bunigahu</i> —"to open"	— <i>phɛ'ah</i> —"to open."
Karo.	Burmese.
<i>Tutuñ</i> —"to burn"	— <i>thwan</i> —"to light."
<i>Gəstuñ</i> —"to blaze up"	— <i>thin</i> —"to be lighted."
<i>Antar</i> —"to set up"	— <i>thā</i> —"to stand."
<i>Batar</i> —"a stand"	— <i>thā</i> —"to place."
<i>Rintañ</i> —"row"	—
<i>Listañ</i> —"vertical"	— } <i>tan</i> —"to extend in a straight line."
<i>Tintañ</i> —"rectilinear"	— }
<i>Gəbuk</i> —"cloud of dust"	— <i>phut</i> —"dust."
<i>Abuñ</i> —"ash"	— <i>phum</i> —"dust."
<i>Apai</i> —"which"	— <i>abhay</i> —"which."
<i>√ger</i> —"to cook"	— <i>khyak</i> —"to cook."
<i>√bis</i> —"pus"	— <i>prī</i> —"pus."
<i>Ledañ</i> —"in a straight line"	— <i>tan</i> —"to extend in a straight line."
<i>Buñ</i> —"to hide"	— <i>pum</i> —"to hide."
<i>Bunbun</i> —"to cover"	— <i>phum</i> —"to cover."
Madurese.	Burmese.
<i>Kaq</i> —"elder brother"	— <i>ako</i> —"elder brother."
<i>Cokcak</i> —"strife"	— <i>cac</i> —"war."
<i>Pote</i> —"white"	— <i>phrū</i> —"white."
<i>Kapkap</i> —"to scratch"	— <i>khrac</i> —"to scratch."
<i>Lcger</i> —"neck"	— <i>laññ</i> (pron. <i>lā</i>)—"neck."
Makassar.	Burmese.
<i>Usuk</i> —"to pierce with a needle"	— <i>cū</i> —"to pierce."
Malagasy.	Burmese.
<i>Usi</i> —"a goat"	— <i>chit</i> (pron. <i>seit</i>)—"a goat."
<i>Masu</i> —"eyes"	— <i>Myakci</i> —"eye."
Malay.	Burmese.
<i>Kikis</i> —"to scratch"	— <i>khrac</i> —"to scratch."
<i>Tumbuq</i> —"to pound"	— <i>thon</i> —"to pound."

Masaretese.	Burmese.
Word-base <i>tea</i> —"to set"	— <i>taññ</i> (pron. <i>tī</i>)—"to set up."
Mentaway.	Burmese.
<i>Rok</i> —"in a straight line"	— <i>rō</i> —"to be straight-forward."
<i>Patok</i> —"to draw"	— <i>thut</i> —"to draw out."
Minangkabau.	Burmese.
<i>Atoq</i> —"roof"	— <i>athvat</i> —"top."
Modern Javanese.	Burmese.
<i>Tepun</i> —"to unite"	— <i>poñ</i> —"to unite."
<i>Ijëm</i> —"green"	— <i>acim</i> —"green."
Old Javanese.	Burmese.
<i>Ikěl</i> —"curly"	— } <i>kve</i> —"crooked"
<i>Rinkěl</i> —"twisted"	— }
<i>Liput, saput</i> —"to cover"	— <i>phvak</i> —"to conceal."
<i>Alih</i> —"to return"	— }
<i>Pulih</i> —"to turn back"	— } <i>laññ</i> (pron. <i>lī</i>)—"to turn."
<i>Duk</i> —"to push"	— <i>Thō</i> —"to thrust."
<i>Sak</i> —"to devastate or sack"	— <i>Cak</i> as in <i>nhipsak</i> —"to oppress."
<i>Kin</i> —"dry"	— <i>kañ</i> —"to dry by heating over fire."
<i>Těluñ</i> —"to hang"	— <i>tvèlañ</i> : or <i>tvèloñ</i> —"in a hanging manner."
√ <i>suk</i> as in <i>asuk</i> —"to bring into"	— <i>svat</i> —"to foree into."
or <i>susuk</i> —"to penetrate."	
<i>Ilat</i> —"tongue"	— <i>lhyā</i> —"tongue."
Word-base <i>tungan</i> —"to sit on"	— <i>thiun</i> (pron. <i>thaing</i>)—"to sit."
<i>Gěbuk</i> —"to beat"	— <i>put</i> —"to beat."
Pampanga.	Burmese.
<i>Tusuk</i> —"to pierce through"	— <i>tho:cu</i> —"to penetrate or pierce."
Tottinese.	Burmese.
<i>Nau</i> —"grass"	— <i>mrak</i> —"grass."
Sundanese.	Burmese.
<i>Babuk</i> —"to smite violently"	— <i>put</i> —"to strike."
<i>Běk</i> —"to beat"	— <i>put</i> —"to beat."
<i>Sěk</i> —"to fall down dead"	— <i>se</i> —"to die."
<i>Aděk</i> —"to touch"	— <i>tve, tō, thi</i> , (arch.) <i>thè</i> —"to touch."
<i>Něk</i> —"shrill tone" as in <i>děnek</i>	— <i>no</i> —"to cry."
"to yell"	
<i>Ka</i> or <i>aka</i> —"brother"	— <i>ako</i> —"elder brother."

Toba.		Burmese.
<i>Numñam</i> —"not harmonious"	—	<i>ñamñam</i> —"noisily."
<i>Lumlam</i> —"confused"	—	<i>rum:rañ:</i> —"tumultuously."
<i>Lonin</i> —"to make a shrill sound"	—	<i>ñam</i> —"to be noisy."
<i>Pintu</i> —"to shut"	—	<i>pit</i> —"to shut."
Tontemboan.		Burmese.
<i>Ronkam</i> —"to touch"	—	<i>kiuñ</i> (pron. <i>kaing</i>)—"to hold."
<i>Kewoy</i> or <i>keyow</i> —"to be dirty"	—	<i>gyi:</i> —"dirty," <i>khyc:</i> —"dung."
<i>Leqlew</i> —"to peel"	—	<i>lhvā</i> —changed into <i>nhvā</i> —"to peel."
<i>Kawel</i> —"to detach"	—	<i>khvè</i> —"to separate."
<i>Peqpet</i> from <i>petpet</i> —"to flatten"	—	<i>pakpak</i> —"shallow," <i>prapprap</i> —"low" from <i>prā:</i> <i>prā:</i> —"flat."
<i>Tinēp</i> —"to dive"	—	<i>ñup</i> —"to dive."
<i>En</i> —"yes"	—	<i>añ:</i> —"yes."
<i>Apoq</i> —"grandfather"	—	<i>aphō:</i> —"grandfather."
<i>Rēřēp</i> —"to overlap"	—	<i>rac</i> or <i>racpat</i> —"to wrap."

We now compare Burmese with more than one Indonesian language.

Burmese.		Indonesian.
<i>Kiuk</i> (pr. <i>kaik</i>)—"to bite"	—	Karo <i>kilkil</i> —"to gnaw." Bisaya <i>kankil</i> —"to bite."
<i>Phut</i> —"to burn"	—	Karo <i>gēbok</i> —"smoky." Bisaya <i>dabok</i> —"to burn straw."
<i>Lak</i> —"to glitter"	—	Karo <i>ilar</i> , <i>ērlap</i> , <i>kilat</i> —"to shine." Bisaya <i>dilag</i> ,—"bright."
<i>Lin</i> —"to roll"	—	Karo <i>gulan</i> —"to roll." Bugis, Malay and Gayo <i>gilin</i> —"to roll." Old Javanese <i>pulin</i> —"to roll."
<i>Lū</i> —"man"	—	Dayak <i>olo</i> —"man." Malagasy <i>uluna</i> —"man."
<i>Im</i> —"house or home"	—	Mentaway <i>uma</i> —"house." Dayak <i>huma</i> —"house." Gayo <i>umah</i> —"house."
<i>Lhvā</i> —"to peel"	—	Old Javanese, Karo, Iloko <i>laklak</i> —"to peel." Tontemboan <i>laqlak</i> —"to peel."
<i>Cut</i> or <i>cup</i> —"to suck"	—	Madurese <i>sēpsēp</i> or <i>sessēp</i> —"to suck out." Modern Javanese <i>sēsēp</i> —"to suck out."
<i>Lhiun</i> : (pr. <i>lhaing</i>)—"wave"	—	Old Javanese, Malay, Achinese, Minangkabau <i>alun</i> —"wave." Bisaya <i>alon</i> —"wave." Malagasy <i>aluna</i> —"wave."

Anay—"a young person or small thing" Old Javanese, Malay, *anak*—"child."

We now select a few of what the author calls Common Indonesian for comparison.

Common Indonesian.	Burmese.
<i>Buina</i> —"flower"	— <i>Pan:</i> or <i>pvan</i> —"flower."
<i>Jalan</i> —"path"	— <i>Lam:</i> —"road."
<i>Añud</i> —"to drift"	— <i>Mrax</i> —"to drift."
√ <i>tuk</i> —"to knock"	— <i>Tut</i> —"to strike."
√ <i>lan</i> —"to wind or twist"	— <i>Lim</i> —"to twist."
√ <i>sih</i> —"to love"	— <i>Khyac</i> —"to love."
<i>Ulu</i> —"head"	— <i>Ū:</i> —"head."
<i>Mata, Mara</i> (Spelt Magcha)— "Eye"	— <i>Myakci</i> —"eye."
<i>Apa</i> —"what"	— <i>Bhā</i> —"what."

We will now conclude our comparison by selecting a few Original Indonesian words.

Original Indonesian.	Burmese.
<i>Pu</i> —"grandfather"	— <i>Aphō:</i> —"grandfather."
<i>Atəp</i> —"roof"	— <i>Athak</i> or <i>Athvat</i> —"top."
<i>Kait</i> (which is Xai in Nias)— "hook"	— <i>Khyit</i> —"hook."

Were complete vocabularies of Indonesian languages available, perhaps more correspondences could be brought to light.

But how shall we best account for these coincidences? Are they purely accidental even as Dr. Brandstetter holds (p. 129) that the resemblance of Indonesian numeral *dua* for "two" with the corresponding Indo-European word is merely fortuitous? But is not the word "accident" an admission of our intellectual limitation, a confession of our ignorance of the underlying cause of the phenomenon in question, our inability to account for a fact or to explain what appears to us as a mystery? Of the two ugly alternatives—"Here lawless chance holds sway" and "Research has failed to discover the principle of the occurrence"—we prefer the latter. Why? Because we are disposed to think that the chance theory is exploded by Dr. Brandstetter's own researches and his arguments for the existence of Original Indonesian as a mother-tongue of so many insular languages. Still we have heard two educated European gentlemen say independently that a coincidence between a word in the mainland and that in a very remote island, the communication with which is obviously impossible, must be due to chance, pure and simple.

Onomatopaeic words like 'fire' may have originated independently. Indeed we will concede that one and the same sound of striking may have struck the accoustic apparatus of Ancient Ariyans as '*radh*' or '*puth*,' of Europeans as '*rap*' or '*pat*' and Burmese as '*raik*' or '*put*,' even though

the very existence of such a pair of words in an Indo-European language and a Mongolian speech points to the common source in a pre-Ariyan mother-tongue. But what reason did the two gentlemen mentioned give for the coincidences of other kinds of words? They said that sounds are limited, while ideas are not and it is quite possible that an islander may just accidentally hit upon the same sound to express the same idea as the mainlanders. As this view of limited sounds and unlimited ideas may be held by others, it behoves us to examine it. Prof. Max. Müller in his *Lectures on Language* tells us that by putting together twenty-three or twenty-four letters in every possible variety we might produce every word that has been used in any language of the world. The number of these words taking twenty-three letters as the basis would be 25,852,016,738,884,976,640,000, or if we took twenty-four, would be 620,448,401,733,239,439,360,000."

It looks as if the ancient Ariyans recognised this fact when they, rightly or wrongly, defined the word *akkharā* as characters 'which cannot be exhausted (na khīyantīti akkharā) even though they may be used for the whole of extensive Buddhist literature.' Now, the alphabet of any language is imperfect to represent the different shades of sounds. Therefore the possible number of combination of sounds must exceed the above figures. Though these are incredibly large, they are still limited. Theoretically, ideas are unlimited. But actually, there are savages who cannot count beyond five or ten and whose vocabularies do not cover more than a hundred words.

The total number of words possessed by even the most civilized people falls for below the possible number of sound-combinations. This is because "these trillions, billions and millions of sounds would not be words, because they would lack the most important ingredient—that makes a word to be a word—namely, the different ideas by which they were called into life." (*Lectures on Language*, ii. 81). In other words, ideas are actually less than the possible number of sound-combinations. This being so, the chance of any two people hitting upon the same sound to express the same idea is far less than a trillion-billion and millionth part. What is it that connects the two similar sounds? It is the sense, the meaning or the idea. A semantic connection is in this sense, more important than a superficial phonetic equation, but sufficient weight does not always appear to be attached to the former by the strict phoneticians. And when we come to consider the remarkable resemblance of Burmese *laññchay* (pron. *lisay*) 'to deceive,' with an obsolete English word *leasy*—'deceptive' the happy chances of selecting the same combination and arrangement of sounds to express the same idea are practically reduced to *nil*. If the two words be regarded as both phonetically and semantically proved to be identical, there is no alternative left but to ascribe the identity to the common ancestry because the very idea of loaning an obsolete word from our comparatively recent conquerors is precluded altogether.

The third essay deals with the Indonesian verb and is therefore more suitable for students who should consult the original if they wish to have a better insight into an important branch of Indonesian grammar through literature. It is based upon an analysis of the best texts in twenty-four languages. The learned author is as we have seen, not one of those who fol-

lowed the school which depends upon manuals and vocabularies. As regards method he writes: "I do not by any means regard enumeration as a species of child's play: it is, amongst other things, a matter of scientific importance to know *how often* a linguistic phenomenon occurs" (§ 4, p. 140).

The fourth essay, the longest and perhaps the most important, deals with the Indonesian phonetic phenomena.

The sound of today is not the sound of five hundred years ago. This is a truism and we often ask ourselves: "How are we to know the past sounds unless we assume that orthigraphy, before it was fixed in literature, once followed the varying orthoepy?" The author writes on this subject in Sec. 3 (p. 230). "The past history of Indonesian sounds may be gathered from the written documents handed down to us, or it can be deduced by the methods of linguistic science, above all by the method of comparison."

Our author next gives us some of the current theories of the causes of phonetic change without any comment. Adriani attributes the peculiar change of *s* into *h* in certain of the Toraja languages to the custom of filing the teeth short. The change of a labial to a velar (i. e. a guttural) among Javanese is attributed by Roorda to the custom of chewing betel. Perhaps there are deeper causes than these. For instance, the nominative case ending *si* in Sanscrit is first shortened into *s* as in *tamas*. Next *S* is symbolized by *visarga* (two dots in the form of a colon). Lastly this symbol is pronounced not *s* but *h*. E. g., *narasi*=*naras*=*nara*:=*narah*.

Among the forces at work in the evolution of Indonesian sounds, the author discusses analogy, popular etymology, phonetic symbolism, onomatopoeia, euphemism, etc. (pp. 234-237) and among the special classes of phonetic phenomena he notices prothesis, anaptyxis, haplology, metathesis, assimilation, "umlaut" and fracture (pp. 308-315). The language of children (§§ 23 and 24, p. 238) is interesting in showing that *ama* or *mama* is used for 'father' instead of 'mother.' We have noticed that Tontemboan *apoq* for "grandfather" is almost exactly Burmese *aphō*:

Juju > *cucu* > *susu* is of onomatopoeitic origin, as is also Pali root *cub*—'to suck.' It is interesting to note that *susu* means 'an infant' in Pali, while it means 'breast' in Indonesian, on the principle of the transference of words to associated ideas.

By the 'language of animals' is not meant the language used by animals among themselves, but the language attributed to them in literature.

As regards method our author writes (537 p. 243): "Indo-European research has advanced further than Indonesian, its subtle and highly developed methods can, indeed must, serve as a guide to Indonesian research." Therefore in this work we have a guarantee that the latest principles of comparative philology in Indo-European research have been applied, wherever possible.

"Conversely," he adds (p. 244), "the results of Indonesian linguistic research may also be applied with profit to Indo-European study." In this we entirely agree with him. We are of humble opinion, that if our pre-Aryan theory be established by further researches, some of the present accepted etymologies of words in European languages will need revision, especially as regards roots, in the light of new discoveries.

The phonetic laws propounded by our author are extremely important. Among the laws of vowels, semi-vowels and liquids (pp. 265-267) we notice the following parallels with other languages:—

(a) *i* becomes *e*, and *u* becomes *o*, as in Pali or Burmese, the change of *i* into *ey* corresponding to that into *ay* in Burmese or *aya* in Pali;

(b) *y* becomes *j*, and *w* becomes *b*, as in Pali, only in Pali *w* is represented by *v*.

(c) *r* becomes *l* or *d* as in Pali, as *l* becomes *r*, the change of *l* into *y* corresponding to that of *r* into *y* in Burmese.

The following laws are useful (pp. 268-273):—

Velars—

(a) *k*=*g* or *h* or *q* or *c* or *t* or *s*.

(b) *g*=*k* or *gh* or *h*.

(c) *ñ*=*n* or *ñ*, or *k* (by assimilation).

Palatals—

(a) *c*=*s*.

(b) *j*=*c* or *jh* or *d* or *z* or *s*.

(c) *ñ*=*n*.

Dentals—

(a) *t*=*d* or *ts* or *k* or *h* or *s*.

(b) *d*=*t* or *dh* or *r*.

(c) *n*=*ñ* or *l*, or *t* (by assimilation).

Labials—

(a) *p*=*b* or *f* or *w* or *k* or *h*.

(b) *b*=*bh* or *p* or *w* or *f* or *h*.

(c) *m*=*n* or *ñ*, or *p* (by assimilation).

The spirant—

s=*ś* (i. e. *sh*) or *h* or *t*.

The aspirate—

h=*g*.

For examples, readers must be referred to the original. A great many of those laws are common to other languages. The mutual interchange of nasals is even more marked in Burmese.

The author's own comparison of Indonesian and Indo-European phonetic changes (§ 117, p. 274) will be found interesting. We may only observe that the Kamberese derivation of *hiwa* from Original Indonesian *siva* is the reverse of the Burmese derivation of *shi* (written *rhi*) from *hi*.

We have already run through several pages of this review and it is impossible to review the work in greater details. But the review will be incomplete without noticing the following instances of linguistic facts:—

We said in our own researches that there are indications that Burmese once possessed an article *a*. This assertion might have shocked some of our Burmologists. Therefore we note with satisfaction that there is this article in several languages of Indonesian (§ 59, p. 35) and that it often becomes indissolubly attached to substantives (§ 89, p. 102), as in Burmese, only that it is prefixed in Burmese while it is generally suffixed in Indonesian. But in Common Indonesian *apa*—"what" which corresponds to Burmese

bhā—"what," as karo *apai*—"which" does to Burmese *abhay*—"which," the article is prefixed (p. 112). The pre-Ariyan base *ka* is still retained in Manipurese *Kadai* "where;" Kachin *kadai*—"who," *kara*—"which," *Kade*—"where," *kaloi*—"where;" in Maru *kai*—"where," as it was retained in Latin *qui, quo, quod*. It is changed into *hpa*—"what" in Kachin, *hpe*—"what" in Maru, *bhā*—"what," in Burmese—"what" in English and 'pa' in Indonesian. In Arakan, it is changed into *Jā*—"what," but in Tavoy *bha* and *jā* are used together.

The Indonesian demonstrative *i*—"this" corresponds to Burmese *ī* (p. 36).

The Indonesian preposition *ka* (p. 42) answers to Burmese *ko*—"to," while the Toba preposition 'tu' for 'to' (p. 55) answers to Burmese *sō*.

Ni, we are told, is the combination of the genitive *n* and the locative *i* which is the same as in Pali. This combination is used in Indonesian as a genitive whereas 'nhaik' is used as a locative in Burmese. The author writes: "In Indo-European also, as is well known, the two relations run into one another" (§ 81, p. 48). The copula *ay* or *i* in the languages of the Philippines corresponds to Burmese *i* (p. 143).

In forming the past tense (p. 191) Bugis used an auxiliary *pura* (probably connected with Pali \sqrt{pur} —"to fill") as we used *pri*: (connected with Latin *pleo*—"to complete") to show the completion of an act.

The Madurese incites dogs with interjection *yuh* which corresponds to Burmese *shu*: (§ 68, p. 40) whereas in Pali *susu*! is used to frighten away birds.

Sundanese *ma*—"mother," Mentaway *mam* or *mai* "father" and Madurese *Mag* "father" (p. 41) clearly prove that a word expressing one relationship in one language may express a different relationship in another; and further, Gayo *ama* which actually signifies both 'father' and 'uncle' (p. 86), as European word *nephew* at one time expressed 'a cousin' and 'a grandson,' clearly proves our view which we advanced on this subject, viz., that a few words may have sufficed to express different relationships in the early stages of evolution. Again, Javanese *ajēm*—"green" phonetically corresponds to *idzin*—"dark" (p. 84). Though in Burmese *acim*: is confined to "green," we have a parallel. Arakenese apply the word *aprā* to "brown" whereas Burmans apply it to "blue." Again, Arakanese calls blue *ñieu* (pron. *ñō*) which word Burmans apply to "brown," (dark-red or dusky-yellow). Burmese *mè* or *nak*—"black" and Arakanese *ñō*—"blue" appear to us to have been connected with Pali $\sqrt{nīl}$ —"to be blue-black." The derivation of *me* or *nak* is countenanced by the fact that indigo is called *mè-nay*. if we remember that *y* can change into *k* in Burmese as pointed out in an earlier paper. This phenomenon of transference of a word from one thing or idea to another closely associated therewith is common as already noticed in the case of *susu*. The word *moat* originally meant the turf or sod thrown upon either side of a trench and was applied to both the trench and the embankment or mound, but has now come to mean the trench alone. The same principle explains why our numeral *kō*: for 'nine' serves to designate 'ten' in some of the border languages of Burma. E. g. Wa *kao*—"ten." Pali *go*

(ox) and *gāṛī* (cow) are reflected in our word *kyuc*—‘buffalo’ as our *nvā*:—‘ox’ is reflected in Bontok *noan*—‘buffalo’ (p. 126), evidently by the working of the same principle. Perhaps the traces of our *nvā*: are to be found in English *muck*, because Icelandic *myki* corresponds to Burmese *nvā*:—*khyc*: or *nok-khyc*:—“dung of cattle.”

Original Indonesian *ulu* ‘head’ is used by Bimanese to express ‘formerly’ and appears as *uru*—‘beginning’ (§ 15 p. 235). The idea of using ‘head’ to express a ‘beginning’ is paralleled by Burmese *ü*:—head and *lak-ü*: or *ii*:—*cvā*—‘beginning.’

Sundanese *mam*—“eat!” corresponds to Burmese *tha-mañ*: or *hamañ*:—“cooked rice,” which is no doubt associated with Burmese *min*—“to relish food”—a word which we have connected with English ‘munch.’

Muna \sqrt{ate} (p. 295), from Original Indonesian *gataṅ* or *hatay* (p. 314)

Malay *mam*—“to suck.” Achinese *mom*—“breast” (§ 69, p. 41) seem to be connected with European word *mamma*—“breast” as Lampong *mah*—“breast” is probably connected with Burmese *nō*—“breast.”

Muna \sqrt{ate} (p. 295), from Original Indonesian *gataṅ* or *hatay* (p. 314)—“heart,” corresponds to Greek *kardia*, Latin *cord*, Pāli *hadaya* and English *heart*. These examples of correspondence with Indo-European words prepare us to accept the connection between Busang *do*—“day” with English “day,” through root \sqrt{div} —“to shine,” from which Pāli *divā*—‘day’ was derived, as well as the connection between Indonesian *lag*, Burmese *lak* and English *light*.

But the following examples are curious:—

Old Javanese *away*—to wave (p. 94).

„ *rěñön*—renowned (p. 146).

The whole book is full of interest and is instructive from beginning to end. Even a most casual reader of this review will not fail to see that we have made a good use of the work. He may say that this is not a review at all. Well, it is more than a review. It is a study. It is a book not to be merely curiously read by a reviewer with a view to advertise the maximum number of excellences by noticing the minima of faults. Both the author and the translator are too well distinguished to need any such advertisements from any hands. A work of this kind is to be chewed and digested. We have the greatest pleasure in fully endorsing the well-chosen words of the learned translator—“Though strictly scientific his work is cast into a form that renders it intelligible to the average reader as well as to the specialist, and while the advanced student will find much to learn from it, a beginner of ordinary intelligence and education can read it with profit and understanding.” And we add that it is a work which no linguistic student of any language can do without. So we recommend it to serious students of linguistics. The beauty of the work, however, is only marred by the ugly absence of an index. We think that no scientific work should have been published without a carefully prepared index. With an index the value of the book is doubly enhanced; without it, half of its value is gone.

S. Z. A.

A QUERY.

CAPTAIN JOHN STEWART.

Leaning against the wall of the entrance porch of the Rangoon Cantonment Cemetery is a tombstone with the following inscription:—

IN MEMORY

OF

CAPT. JOHN STEWART

many years a commander in the Country service

who departed this life in Rangoon on the 21st

Day of August the year of our Lord 1808

Born in Scotland, aged 54 years.

Does any one know anything of Captain John Stewart and of the history of this tombstone? The stone does not seem to be local.

T. L. O.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

BURMESE POETRY PRIZE COMPETITION.

According to Resolution three of the Minutes of the Committee meeting held on the 17th July, 1916, (*see* p. 116, Vol. VI, part II of Journal) it was agreed, after a considerable amount of discussion at previous meetings and by private correspondences among the various committee members and with the Secretary, "that as an experiment a prize of Rs. 50/- be awarded, but the winning poem must not be a lullaby. A special committee consisting of the six Burmese gentlemen present (*viz.* U Hpay, U May Oung, U Po Byu, U Ba, U set and the Honorary Editor) was then appointed to deal with the question of deciding on the form of the poem, of fixing the last date of submitting it to the Honorary Secretary and of acting as judges." Accordingly arrangements were made by the members of this special Burmese Committee and on the 1st August, 1917, the Honorary Editor advertised for a week the following notice in English in the Rangoon Gazettee and in Burmese in the Friend of Burma:—

"The Burma Research Society will offer a prize of Rs. 50/- for the best Burmese poetry under the following conditions:—

- (1) The poem shall be in the form of လေးချိုး and ဝိသုဒ္ဓိတုံ။
- (2) It shall be of the usual length, which has been practically fixed by custom.
- (3) It shall have as its subject ဘုန်းတော်ဘွဲ့ *i. e.* in honour of the King-Emperor, the Queen-Empress and the Royal Family.
- (4) All entries shall be sent to the Honorary Secretary by the 1st October, 1916.
- (5) Entries shall be made under a *nom-de-plume*, which together with the competitor's real name and address, should be sent in on a slip of paper enclosed in a sealed envelope.
- (6) The competition shall be open to all.
- (7) The Society shall reserve to themselves the right to publish in the Journal the winning poem and any other entries which they may consider worthy of publication."

In response to this, a dozen entries were received by the Honorary Editor. A meeting of the special committee was called on the 7th October 1916, when there were present U Hpay (in the chair), U Set, U Po Byu, U Ba and the Editor. The meeting was entirely devoted to the examination of the entries and came to the resolution that as three of the entries were of marked excellence and were far superior to the rest, they should be circulated among the members for mature opinion. Accordingly the three poems were marked A, B and C, and were circulated among the members with the request that they would study each and select the one which should be the winning poem. Each member was further requested to send his opinion in writing to the Honorary Editor and not to note it down on the circular, so that the adjudication of the prize might be made by the members as independently of each other as possible. A considerable amount of time was allotted to this—in view of the number (six) of the Judges—as the next meeting was not called till the 9th March, 1917, when the winning poem was selected by vote. There

were present at this final meeting U Hpay (in the chair), U Po Byu, U Ba and the Editor. U Set did not express his opinion and by his continued absence on tour was deemed to have forfeited his right of vote. The winning poem was found to be the one written by U Aung Dun, Teacher, Government Anglo-Vernacular High School, Prome. The poem is herewith published with a free English prose translation by the Honorary Editor.

ဘုန်းတော်ဘွဲ့လေးချိုးကြီး။

ထောင်ရောင်နေထွန်းသည့်နယ်။ ကျွန်းကျွန်းများဒီပါဝယ်။ ညီလာပိုင်တေဇိန်နှင့်။ ကေရိန်ခေါင်လွန်
မို့။ အောင်တံခွန်အရှည်စိုက်ပေမည့်။ သည်သိုက်မြို့။ ။မင်းမင်းဥသျှောင်။ ရာဝင်ငယ်ပြောင်။ အောင်တာဝ
ရ။ အယုဇ္ဈမို့။ တိုင်းအောင်လံ။ ရွှေဘုံပျံဟု။ နတ်စံတရထည်။ ရန်မာန်ရှုံ။ အောင်ပွဲတော်စည်ဘိ။ အောင်ဘုမ္မိ
မ၊ ဣလဝယ်။ သုရာပိုင်ဣန္ဒာနန်းပေရ။ ခြံအုန်း ဘုန်းတော်တိုး၍မို့။ တန်ခိုးရှိန်ဝိသေထူးပါပေ။ နန်းဦးရန်
လုံ။ ။စက္ကဝါငယ်။ သွက်ခါသိမ့်သိမ့်။ မြေမိုးနိမ့်မျှ။ ခြံမြေမြေတေဇာ။ အခေါင်သေဌ်နင်း။ အရောင်လင်း။
အောင်တရင်း ကြော်ပေလိမ့်။ ကျွန်းမော် နက်သန်။ ပြည်လန်ဒန်ဝယ်။ ရန်စွယ်ကင်းပ။ မင်းမင်း ချစ်။ နှင်းသ
ပဏ္ဏာ။ ဘုန်းရောင်ပျို။ အောင်မျိုးတော်ဖြာလှ။ ထွဋ်ရာဇသမ္ဘာပုံကို။ ဆိုတိုဘယ်ဆုံးငြားနိုင်ပ။ များလှချေဘိ။

နှစ်ဘုန်းရယ်ရိပ်လှုံ။ တေဇာကျုံး။ ကပ်လုံးဘဲခြုံတော့ထင့်။ အစုံနေလ။ သရေတော်မှာ ရွှေလှော်မြ
သို့။ နွယ်ဝံသညွန့်ဝေ။ ကမ္ဘာခန်းသော်လဲ။ ဥဒါန်းတော်ကြေပြီဘူ။ ဘုန်းနေတုဂြိုဟ်ဖြာ။ ဂျောမင်းမြတ်နရိန္ဒာ၊
စကြာတော်ဘွဲ့ရွှေတည်။ လေးကျွန်းပိုင်စံထပ်နန်းပေရ။ မန္တာတ်ဘုန်းမည်လောကကဲ့။ ရည်ရောက်တဲတို့ထိပ်
ပန်မှာ။ မြတ်ကံ ဥာဏ် သမ္ဘာဘုန်းတော်သို့။ နှုန်းဘက်မရှိ။ ။

ရွှေဘုန်းတော်ဘွဲ့

ပိုင်စုံရတု—ပဌမပုဒ်။

ရောင်ရှိန်နေဝါ။ ဘုန်းတော်ဖြာ၍။ တေဇာလှံ ပတ်။ မြတ်ကြက်သရေ။ ပြီးပြီးဝေသည်။ မိုးမြေအုန်း
လျက်။ ချွန်းချွန်းစက်မျှ။ ဘုန်းတက်ဘုန်းမီး။ ဘုန်းမျှူးထီးဟု။ တိုင်းကြီးထွဋ်တင်။ ဂျောနန်းရှင်နှင့်။ ကြန်အင်
တင့်တယ်။ နေန္တယ်သာကီ။ သမ္ဘာညီလျက်။ ရာဂီမဆံ။ ရွှေမင်းစံသို့။ ဝင်းလျှံတက်ကြွ။ လက်လက်ပသား။
သက္ကကြင်ရာ။ မိုးသူဇာမျှ။ မဟာဒေဝီ။ မဟေသီဟု။ မေရိန်တ်ရှင်။ တို့ထိပ်တင်သည်။ ရိပ်ခွင်ဝေယန်။ လန်ဒန်
ပူရီ။ ဒေဝီ အောင်ချာ။ ပြည်ဇေယာဝယ်။ ကမ္ဘာလုံးထီး။ ဘုန်းရောင်ညီးတို့။ ရှေးတီးထုံးတမ်း။ နှုန်းတော်
ငြိမ်းဖြင့်။ မင်းခမ်းညီလာ။ ငြိမ့်ငြိမ့်ညာ၍။ မဟာဘိသေ။ မုဒ္ဒါရေလျင်။ သန့်စင်ပြီးခါ။ ဘွေသီဟာဘုံ။ ရွှေရိပ်
မြို့ဝယ်။ မျက်စုံ စိမ့်ဉာ။ မိုးဣန္ဒာသို့။ သိင်္ဂီဗုရင်။ မကိုဋ်ဆင်သော်။ မြေပြင်သိမ့်ခါ။ ကပ်လုံး ညာလျက်။ မဟာ
မန္တာတ်။ ပုံတောင်းမြတ်ဖြင့်။ ပတ်ပတ်လင်းစည်။ လေးကျွန်းလှည့်က။ ဝင်းမှည့်ကြက်သရေ။ တက်လေလေသို့။
နေန္တယ် ဥက္ကဋ်။ မနော နတ်လည်း။ လောက ဓါတ်လုံး။ ကျုံးစလောက်တန်။ ဘုန်းတောက် ပြန်၍။ ရုံးအန်
သမ္ဘာ။ ကဲမိုးဖြာသည်။ ရာဇာမျိုးလှသခင်သော။

ဒုတိယပုဒ်။

ပြောင်ထိန်တေဇာ။ ဝေဝေဖြာလျက်။ ပထဗျာမြေ။ ရေအဏ္ဏဝါ။ အဇောဘုံ။ လုံးစုံကျော်ခြောက်။
အောင်သံရောက်မျှ။ မိုးအောက်စိုးမြန်။ တို့ထိပ်ပန်းမျှ။ ဘုန်းတန်းကဲပြန်။ ဥာဏ်လည်းမြင်ကျယ်။ နွယ်လည်း
နေနတ်။ မှန်တုံလတ်၍။ မင်းမြတ်ထံပါ။ ခစားဝန်းရံ။ ပါလီမံဟု။ ဥကင်လွှတ်ကျော်။ ရွှေလွှတ်တော်ဝယ်။
ထင်ပေါ်မြင့်မြတ်။ အမတ်မန္တိ။ မေခါပီတို့။ စဉ်စိစိတ်ဖြာ။ ဥဿုအားဖြင့်။ ကြောင်းလျားဆွေးနွေး။ ပြည်
တိုင်းရေးကို။ မြော်တွေးထောက်လှမ်း။ စွမ်းရည်မြားမြောက်။ တမိုးအောက်မှာ။ မြို့လောက်မထင်။ များသေ
နင်ကို။ စီရင်ချုပ်ခြာ။ စိန္တာမယ။ ရဲဥာဏနှင့်။ တေဇာပွဲကျော်။ မဟော်သုခမိန်။ နန္ဒီ သိန်သို့။ ဂုဏ်ရှိန်ညီးညီး။

စပ်သူကြီးတို့။ ရန်မီးနှင်ဖြူ။ မိုလ်ခေါဘဏီ။ ပြန်ဆယ်လီကို။ မထီမလောက်။ တယောက်အားနှင့်။ ဘောက်ပြားပျက်ကြေ။ ချေကြီးချေမည့်။ ထွေထွေမွမ်းဖျင်။ စတုရင်နှင့်။ ဝေဟင်္ဂမာ။ သေလာခဲ။ ကျွဲပြိုင်မျှ။ မီးခါတ်ယန္တရား။ နတ်စက်လားသို့။ တိမ်ကြားထွင်းဖောက်။ ရေအောက်ကွယ်လျှိုး။ မြေမိုးမရွှေ့။ ရန်မျိုးအောင်လိမ့်။ များမြောင်စကြာ။ သေနင်္ဂီသည်။ ။ အာကာမိုးဝအသွင်သော။ ။

တတိယပုဒ်။

အောင်ချိန်ဇေယျာ။ မင်္ဂလာဝယ်။ သေနာပတိ။ ရဲစွမ်းရှိတို့။ ဒေဝိမ္မိန္ဒ။ ဝေဿဝဏ္ဏ။ စံတမျှဖြင့်။ ရံခမိုလ်ခြေ။ ကုဋေဋေလျှင်။ လိုက်ရွှေဟာ။ မြင်းသီလာထက်။ ကေသရာဟန်။ ရဲအန်တန်တန်။ ရုံးညာဆန်က။ ကြောက်လန့်နွံနာ။ ကျွန်ပမာမျှ။ ဂါရဝဖြင့်။ ပဏာမချီးဇာလပ်ဆိုသို့။ တညီရွက်ကြို။ ရွှေစက်အုံလျှင်။ တို့ရှင်စိတ်ကြည်။ ရှည်အံ့သက်တော်။ ရာကျော်ရုပ်ခါတ်။ ကြီးမြတ် ဘုန်းဟန်း။ နာမဲ့ ကျန်း၍။ ရွှေနန်း ကနက်။ စိုးဆက်စံခါ။ တိုင်းရပ်သာကာ။ ကပ္ပဋ္ဌာယီ ထပ်ခါညီလိမ့်။ မှန်ပြီအောင်။ မှီ၍။ ရန်မစို့ဘဲ။ နှစ်ကိုယ် ဘုန်းမော်။ စိတ်တော်ရှင်လန်။ နန်းဆက်နန်းလျာ။ နန်းညွန့်ဖြာလျက်။ သော်တာဌေလ။ ကြယ်ပေါင်းခသို့။ နှစ်ဝမိတ်နံ။ နန်းရိပ်စံလျှင်။ နိုင်ငံတော်။ သာနာရေးလည်း။ မှောင်မွေးကင်းကွာ။ ပွင့်လင်းဖြာ၏။ ဆိုင်ရာမှုထမ်း။ စို့စို့လမ်းတွင်။ သန်စွမ်း လက်ရံ။ နှလုံးရည်သင့်။ ရာချီးမြှင့်သည်။ ရှင်ကျေးဇူးတော်။ နှိုင်းသော်မေရ။ မြေထုကသေး။ ကျေးဇူးကကြီး။ ချီးမကုန်ဘွယ်။ ဘယ်ရာဇဝံ့။ မကြိုတောင်းပါ။ ဂုဏ်ပေါင်းသာသည်။ ။ ဖြာဖြာစိုးရအရှင်သော။ ။

TRANSLATION.

ဘုန်းတော်ဘွဲ့လေးချိုးကြီး။

Endowed with transcendent sovereignty and majesty extending to all Islands like the thousand-rayed Sun, He will raise aloft the banner of victory. He is the diadem of kings and possesses a pure historical career. He reigns in that land of the Nats, England, the ever-victorious, the invincible, the home of triumphal festivities and the ideal of the King of the Gods, Sakka, conqueror of the Demons. By virtue of her increasing glory and the glamour of her power, London is the principal throne unconquerable in the world. Predictions will appear for fulfilment according as her glory is diffused in her present tremendous conflict, which has hurled the entire world-system into chaos, causing so to speak the earth and the sky to sink. At London various princes, secure from enmity, proffer on bended knees their presents. It would be endless to describe the qualities of the King of England; such is the diffusion of His glory.

The whole world might take shelter in the comprehending majesty of the King and the Queen, who in glory are like the sun and the moon, gold and emerald. Their glory passes on to their royal descendants. To sing their praises would out-live the world. Like the sun in the glamour of His majesty, King George stands matchless in the world, worthy to be called the Universal Monarch of old, the lord of the Four Islands by virtue of His excellent character, wisdom, virtue and glory.

ပိုဒ်စုံရတု။

First verse :—The heavens and the earth resound, as though a wheel was noisily revolving, with the praises of the lord of mighty peoples, King George, the valiant, radiating glory like the sun and of Queen Mary graceful

in appearance, replete with all the characteristics of the Sākiyans of the sun dynasty, possessing a physical radiance like that of regal gold immaculate, and worthy to be called the Consort of Sakka, king of the Gods. Once at London and then at Delhi, their August Majesties, protecting the world like an umbrella, performed the coronation ceremony in accordance with the custom of the good old sovereigns, when they were clothed in golden costume and wore the diadem, set with gems and dazzling with the brilliance of the lightning. Then it was that the whole world resounded with praises and the glory of Their Majesties was like that of the Universal Monarch, traversing the Four Islands. Verily, our noble King is of the true Sun dynasty and possesses over-powering glory, might and virtue.

Second Verse:—His glory is diffused and His fame gets noised abroad throughout earth, sea and sky. Extensive in wisdom and of the Sun dynasty, He excels all the kings of the earth under the sky, while His ministers, members of Parliament, men of fame and wisdom render Him homage to seek advice in divers affairs of states, out of regard for the welfare of the people. There are wise councillors—modern Mahosadha's and Nandisena's—who, being full of resources, regard their enemies under the sky as mere particles of dust and are able to organize vast armies and march them to victory. Besides the requisite number of the constituents of the army, there are soldiers bold enough to face, single-handed, an innumerable number of enemies. And there are numerous marvels of weapons, such as the sky-traversing aeroplane with power to reduce a whole army to powder and other conquering instruments of warfare, like the disc of the Nats, which penetrate the clouds and dive into the sea, in defiance of the elements; while the army in its fighting power is as expansive as the sky.

Third verse:—When the auspicious moment of victory arrives, the generals, heroic as the Vessavanna Nats and attended by millions of soldiers, stretch forth the might of their arms with the dignity of the royal maned lion at the cave and force the enemy into surrender. And when these prisoners of war are brought to London to bow at the golden feet of our King, surely His Majesty will enjoy peace of mind, length of life, glory and health. His kingdom will be synonymous with the world. Soon there will be true peace and enmity will be uprooted. And Their Majesties calm in mind will continue to grace the throne—like the silvery moon amidst the hosts of stars; tranquillity will reign in the kingdom and religion will shine clear. Never has history revealed such a character as our King, whose merits outweigh Mount Meru, whose praises can never be sufficiently sung and who rewards His State servants, each according to his deserts.

MAUNG TIN,

Honorary Secretary and Editor.

Minutes of the Sub-Committee Meeting held on the 2nd February, 1917.

PRESENT :

M. Hunter, Esq., M. A., C. I. E., (*in the Chair*).
U May Oung, *Barrister-at-Law*, } (*Vice-Presidents*).
J. T. Best, Esq., M. A., }
Professor Maung Tin, (*Hony. Secretary and Editor*).

1. Resolved that no Agenda be arranged for the Annual General Meeting until a Statement of Accounts had been submitted by the Honorary Treasurer, who was absent on tour.

2. That another meeting be called on a date fixed by the Secretary, who would in the meantime communicate with the Treasurer.

MAUNG TIN,
Honorary Secretary.

Minutes of the Sub-Committee Meeting held on the 16th February, 1917.

PRESENT :

M. Hunter, Esq., C. I. E., (*in the Chair*).
J. T. Best, Esq., (*Vice-President*).
Professor Maung Tin, (*Hony. Secretary and Editor*).

Examined the Statement of Accounts, submitted by the Honorary Treasurer who being still on tour was absent.

1. Resolved that the Statement of Accounts be kept by the President for further examination.

2. That the Annual General Meeting be held on the 8th March, 1917.

This date was postponed to the 15th March, owing to a Public Meeting in connection with the War Loan on that date.

3. That a list of new officers for the year 1917 be prepared for submission at the Committee Meeting to be held before the Annual General Meeting.

MAUNG TIN,
Honorary Secretary.

Minutes of the Committee Meeting held on the 15th March, 1917.

PRESENT :

M. Hunter, *President*, (*in the Chair*).
U May Oung, } (*Vice-Presidents*).
J. T. Best, Esq., }

Bishop Cardot.
The Hon'ble Mr. C. M. Webb.
U Po Byu.
U Hpay.

R. E. V. Arbuthnot, Esq.
U Ba.
J. G. Rutledge, Esq.
A. P. Morris, Esq.

Professor Maung Tin, (*Honorary Secretary and Editor*).

Examined the Statement of Accounts for the year 1916 submitted by the Treasurer.

Resolved that the Statement of Accounts be accepted and that Professor W. G. Fraser be appointed Honorary Treasurer in place of U Set, whose continued absence from Rangoon rendered it impossible for him to discharge his duties with satisfaction, especially as a large amount of arrears had to be recovered.

Made arrangements for the election of officers at the Annual General Meeting, held immediately after and elected Rev. D. C. Gilmore a member with a view to his serving on the Committee.

MAUNG TIN,

Honorary Secretary.

BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

ANNUAL MEETING.

The annual meeting of the Burma Research Society was held in the science room of Rangoon College on Thursday evening the 15th March, 1917, there being present:—Messrs. M. Hunter, (in the Chair), R. E. V. Arbuthnot, C. Morgan Webb, J. G. Rutledge, Bishop Cardot, A. P. Morris, U May Oung, U Ba, U Po Byu, U Hpay, U Kyaw Dun, Maung Ba Han, Professor W. G. Fraser, Mr. A. E. Bellars, Mr. J. F. Taylor, Mr. L. C. Robertson, Mr. A. Rodger and Professor Maung Tin (Secretary).

The Secretary read the annual report of the society which stated:

THE REPORT.

During the year 1916, fourteen members were elected, eight members resigned and one member died. There were thus 252 members as against 247 of 1915. Mr. A. D. Keith resigned and Professor Maung Tin was Secretary practically the whole year. The thanks of the society are due to Mr. Keith for his services. Two general meetings were held during the year. The most important matters dealt with by the Society were the amendments to the rules, published in the Journal Vol. VI, Part II; and the offer of the Burmese poetry prize, which has been won by Maung Aung Dun of Prome.

The report was unanimously adopted.

The Secretary then read the statement of accounts which was as follows:

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS.

On the 1st January, 1916, up to which date the last statement was prepared, there was a balance of Rs. 6,172-9-9. During the year 1916, the sum

of Rs. 555 was received, made up of Rs. 435 being subscriptions from 28 ordinary members and Rs. 120 being the interest on Rs. 3,000 kept as a fixed deposit with the Chartered Bank. During the same period the expenditure amounted to Rs. 1,600-1-0. On the 31st December, 1916, there was left a balance of Rs. 5,127-8-9. There were no transactions in November and December, 1916, on account of the absence of the honorary treasurer from Rangoon.

This was put to the meeting and accepted.

The election of officers took place and the following were elected: Mr. M. Hunter, (president), Messrs. J. T. Best, J. S. Furnivall and U Hpay, (vice-presidents); Mr. W. G. Fraser, (honorary secretary and treasurer) and Professor Maung Tin (honorary editor) with the following members of the committee: Rev D. C. Gilmore, Taw Sein Ko, Mr. C. Duroiselle, Mr. J. J. Nolan, Mr. J. G. Rutledge, Professor G. R. T. Ross, U Shwe Zan Aung, Mr. G. F. Arnold, Mr. C. M. Webb, Bishop Cardot, U Kyaw Dun, Mr. A. Rodger, U May Oung, Mr. Justice Maung Kin, Rev. W. C. B. Purser, U Ba, Mr. A. P. Morris, The Bishop of Rangoon, Rev. J. A. Drysdale, U Po Byu, L. Ah Yain, Mr. R. E. V. Arbuthnot and Mr. L. F. Taylor.

Mr. Fraser read a paper by Mr. J. S. Furnivall "From China to Peru."

The chairman declared the paper open for discussion.

Bishop Cardot thought that Mr. Furnivall was not quite right when he said that the first Catholic missionaries who came out in 1663 were sent by Louis IV to further the interest of France out here. If Mr. Furnivall referred to the history of the Foreign Missionary Society he would find that it was the Pope who organised it and sent individual missionaries out, and they came out with no political purpose whatsoever.

Mr. Rutledge said that if Mr. Furnivall was present they would have asked him several questions as there were plenty of materials in his paper for that. He was particularly interested in this particular instance of Burmese history as it added to the favours of directing their attention to this not well known chapter of history. He hoped that Mr. Furnivall would go on and give them papers on the same lines with regard to the other parts of the Indian Empire.

U May Oung inquired as to how the name of Mergui came about; it would be interesting if that could be cleared up. He had succeeded in the derivation of most of the names of the towns in Burma but had not succeeded with Mergui.

The chairman said the society was indebted to Mr. Furnivall for his paper on almost the stray side of history and slightly connected with Burma. The society was indebted to Mr. Furnivall for the amount of work he had undertaken and the most energetic way in which he had given papers on wide and large subjects. He was sure that a great deal of thanks of the members was due to Mr. Furnivall. (Loud applause.)

The meeting terminated.

MEMBERSHIP.

1. Mr. W. G. Fraser of Rangoon College and Maung Chit Maung, Co-operative Credit Societies, Kyauksè were duly elected members of the Society on the 27th September, 1916.

2. Mr. Saw Tun Teik, B. A., Myook, Maung Aung Than, B. A., Myook, and the Teacher's Association Govt. Anglo-Vernacular High School, Prome were elected members of the Society on 22nd March, 1917.

MAUNG TIN,

Honorary Secretary.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR 1916

OF

THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

On the 1st January 1916, up to which date the last Statement was prepared, there was a balance of Rs. 6172|9|9. During the year 1916, the sum of Rs. 555|- was received, made up of Rs. 435|- being subscriptions from 28 ordinary members and Rs. 120|- being the interest on Rs. 3000|- kept as a fixed deposit with the Chartered Bank. During the same period the expenditure amounted to Rs. 1600|1|- . On the 31st December 1916, there was left a balance of Rs. 5127|8|9. The details of receipts and expenditure for each month from January 1916 to October 1916 are given below. There were no transactions in November and December 1916, on account of the absence of the Honorary Treasurer from Rangoon.

MAUNG SET,

Honorary Treasurer,

Burma Research Society.

THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

Details of receipts and expenditure for the year, 1916.

Receipts.				Expenditure.			
January, 1916—				January, 1916—			
	Rs.	A.	P.		Rs.	A.	P.
Last year balance ..	6,172	9	9	Clerks' pay for Dec.,			
				1915	30	0	0
				Peon's pay for Dec.,			
				1915	3	0	0
				Gharry hire (Clerk)	1	0	0
				Drawing plan of Syriam	6	0	0
				Cost of ten Cheques.	0	10	0
						40	10
				Balance in hand ..	6,131	15	9
Total Rs. ..	6,172	9	9	Total Rs. ..	6,172	9	9

Receipts.—continued.

<i>February, 1916—</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Last month's balance	6,131	15	9
Subscriptions from 10 members ..	150	0	0
<hr/>			
Total Rs. ..	6,281	15	9

<i>March, 1916—</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Last month's balance	6,246	2	9
Subscriptions from four members ..	60	0	0
<hr/>			
Total Rs. ..	6,306	2	9

<i>April, 1916—</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Last month's balance	6,246	13	9
Subscriptions from three members ..	45	0	0
<hr/>			
Total Rs. ..	6,291	13	9

Expenditure.—continued.

<i>February, 1916—</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
100 Envelopes ..	1	8	0
Gharry hire (Clerk)	1	0	0
Railway fare (Peon)	0	5	0
Clerks' pay for Jan., 1916 ..	30	0	0
Peon's pay for Jan., 1916 ..	3	0	0
<hr/>			
	35	13	0
Balance in hand ..	6,246	2	9
<hr/>			
Total Rs. ..	6,281	15	9

<i>March, 1916—</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Clerks' pay for Feb., 1916 ..	30	0	0
Peon's pay for Feb., 1916 ..	3	0	0
Postage on a cover ..	0	1	0
510 copies pictures of Payagyi Pagoda ..	20	0	0
250 Post Cards printed	6	4	0
<hr/>			
	59	13	0
Balance in hand ..	6,246	13	9
<hr/>			
Total Rs. ..	6,306	2	9

<i>April, 1916—</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Clerks' pay for March	30	0	0
Peon's pay for March	3	0	0
Printing 500 Journals	250	6	0
Refreshments—General meeting ..	30	2	0
500 Letter heads ..	34	4	0
Postage stamps (Hon. Sec.) ..	20	0	0
<hr/>			
	367	12	0
Balance in hand ..	5,924	1	9
<hr/>			
Total Rs. ..	6,291	13	9

Receipts—continued.

<i>May, 1916—</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Last month's balance	5,924	1	9
Interest on fixed deposit Rs. 3,000/- ..	120	0	0
Total Rs. ...	6,044	1	9

<i>June, 1916—</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Last month's balance	6,010	9	9
Subscriptions from six members ..	90	0	0
Total Rs. ..	6,100	9	9

<i>July, 1916—</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Last month's balance	6,067	9	9
Subscription from two members ..	30	0	0
Total Rs. ..	6,097	9	9

Expenditure—continued.

<i>May, 1916—</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Clerks' pay for April	30	0	0
Peon's pay for April	3	0	0
One copy Rangoon Times ..	0	8	0
	33	8	0
Balance in hand ..	6,010	9	9
Total Rs. ..	6,044	1	9

<i>June, 1916—</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Clerks' pay for May 1916 ..	30	0	0
Peons' pay for May 1916 ..	3	0	0
	33	0	0
Balance in hand ..	6,067	9	9
Total Rs. ..	6,100	9	9

<i>July, 1916—</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Clerks' pay for June 1916 ..	30	0	0
Peons' pay for June 1916 ..	3	0	0
500 Journals ..	514	8	0
500 Journals (in March) ..	240	0	0
	787	8	0
Balance in hand ..	5,310	1	9
Total Rs. ..	6,097	9	9

Receipts—continued.

<i>August, 1916—</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Last month's balance	5,310	1	9
Subscription from one member ..	15	0	0
<hr/>			
Total Rs. ..	5,325	1	9

<i>September, 1916—</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Last month's balance	5,263	1	9
Subscription from two members ..	30	0	0
<hr/>			
Total Rs. ..	5,293	1	9

<i>October, 1916—</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Last month's balance	5,207	5	9
Subscription from one member ..	15	0	0
<hr/>			
Total Rs. ..	5,222	5	9

Expenditure—continued.

<i>August, 1916—</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Clerks' pay for July ..	30	0	0
Peons' pay for July ..	3	0	0
Gharry-hire (clerk) ..	1	8	0
Stamps (Hon. Sec.) ..	15	0	0
500 Postcards printed..	12	8	0
<hr/>			
	62	0	0
Balance in hand ..	5,263	1	9
<hr/>			
Total Rs. ..	5,325	1	9

<i>September, 1916—</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Clerks' pay for August	30	0	0
Peons' pay for August	3	0	0
Stationery, pencil etc.	11	4	0
Advertising charges	39	0	0
Telegram to Mr. Duroiselle ..	1	0	0
Gharry-hire (clerk)	1	8	0
<hr/>			
	85	12	0
Balance in hand ..	5,207	5	9
<hr/>			
Total Rs. ..	5,293	1	9

<i>October, 1916—</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Clerks' pay for Sept:	30	0	0
Peons' pay for Sept:	3	0	0
Stationary and Gloy	3	14	0
250 Postcards printed	6	4	0
Stamps (Hon. Sec.)	15	0	0
Gharry-hire (clerk)	1	12	0
Refreshments at meeting ..	34	15	0
<hr/>			
	94	13	0
Balance in hand ..	5,127	8	9
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Total Rs. ..	5,222	5	9

BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

Revenue and Expenditure Account for the year 1916.

Receipts.

	Rs.	A.	P.
Cash Balances on the 1st January, 1916.			
Fixed Deposit	..	3,000	0 0
With Hon: Treasurer	..	3,122	9 9
With Hon: Secretary	..	50	0 0
		<u>6,172</u>	9 9
Subscriptions received from 28 members	..	435	0 0
Interest on deposit	..	120	0 0

ACCOUNTS

	Rs.	A.	P.
By Clerks' pay for 10 months (for December 1915 to September, 1916) ..	300	0	0
Peons' pay for 10 months ..	30	0	0
Printing Journals (three issues) ..	1,004	14	0
Printing Post Cards ..	25	0	0
Postage on a cover ..	0	1	0
Pictures of Payagyi Pagoda ..	20	0	0
Advertising charges ..	39	0	0
Refreshments at meetings ..	65	1	0
Gharri hire (Clerk) ..	7	1	0
Stamps (Postage) ..	50	0	0
Drawing plan of Syriam ..	6	0	0
Cost of Cheques ..	0	10	0
Stationery ..	10	10	0
Letter heads ..	34	4	0
One copy Rangoon Times ..	0	8	0
Telegram to Mr. Duroiselle ..	1	0	0
Cast balances on the 31st December, 1916.			
Fixed deposit ..	3,000	0	0
With Hon: Treasurer	2,027	8	9
With Hon: Secretary	100	0	0
	<u>5,127</u>	8	9

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Total Rs. ... 6,727 9 9

Total Rs. ... 6,727 9 9

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

RECEIVED SINCE DECEMBER 1916, Vol. VI, Part III.

1. **Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Eastern Circle, 1915-16.**
2. **Journal Asiatique** Re cueil de memoires et de Notices relatifs aux etudes orientales publie par la societe Asiatique, Tom VII, No. 2, Mars—Avril, 1916, No. 3, Mai—Juin, 1916.
3. **The Indian Antiquary**—A Journal of Oriental Research, December 1916, January, 1917.
4. **Journal of the East India Association**—January, 1917, Vol. VIII, No. 1, (New Series).
5. **Reports of the Suburban Development Committee, Rangoon, and the Departmental Committee on Town Planning Burma** with resolution of the Local Government.
6. **Linguistic Survey of Burma**, Preparatory Stage or Linguistic Census. [1917].
7. **South Indian Inscriptions**, Imperial New Series, Vol. II,—Part V. Pallaya Copper-plate Grants from Velurpalayam and Tandantottam, edited and translated by Rao Sahib H. Krishna Sastri. [1917].
8. **Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Hindu and Buddhists Monuments**, Northern Circle for the year ended 31st March, 1916.

PINHEY MEMORIAL MEDAL.*

The Hyderabad Archæological Society, on the 21st April, 1916, decided that a Gold Medal be instituted to commemorate the memory of Sir Alexander Pinhey, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., the Founder and first President of the Society.

Regulations.

(1) The 'Pinhey Memorial Gold Medal' shall be awarded triennially for the best work on Deccan Archæology or History, in accordance with the subjoined conditions.

(2) The competition shall be open to scholars in any part of the world.

(3) Competitors shall submit a thesis on any subject chosen by themselves relating to Deccan Archæology or History. The thesis should be an unpublished work, or, if published, it should not have been published more than two years before its submission for the Pinhey Medal.

(4) Thesis for the first competition will be received up to the end of October 1918, and subsequently in the October of every third year, *i. e.*, in October 1921, 1924, and so on.

(5) If the selected thesis is an unpublished work, the Society, at the recommendation of the Council, shall have the right to publish it in the Society's *Journal*.

(6) If in the opinion of the Council none of the theses submitted in any year are of special value, the Medal shall not be awarded in that year.

(7) If thesis is written in any language other than English, the competitor shall furnish an English translation thereof.

* Printed at the request of the Secretary, Hyderabad Archaeological Society.—*Editor*.

BUDDHIST PRAYER.

The English word prayer was derived, through Old French *preier*, from Latin *precari*—to pray, which was from Latin *prex*, *precis*—a request, a word connected with Sanscrit root *pracch*—to ask. The corresponding word for prayer in Pali is *Patthanā* from root *patth*—to ask. The Burmese word is *Chu-toni*: (lit. asking for a favour), *toni*: being from an Ariyan root *dhan*—to ask.

Thus prayer means a request. A request implies a wish for what is asked, and for a wish to be effective, it further implies a belief in the existence of some power which can answer such a request. Hence savages and semi-civilised races offer invocatory prayers to their spirits in one form or other. Christians, Mahomedans, Hindus and others address their prayers to their respective gods.

Buddhists also pray. The Buddha exhorted his disciples: “ Bhikkhas! Pray for Bliss. Having prayed, make gifts, observe moral precepts and develop culture.”¹ But their prayers have been a puzzle to Europeans and Americans who cannot think of a prayer without a personal God to hear and grant it. For instance Professor Huxley thought that Buddhism, recognising no God, sanctions no prayers.² Again, when the Buddhist community of Rangoon offered prayers at the Shwe Dagon Pagoda for the recovery of our late inestimable Queen-Empress Victoria from her last illness before death, Professor Tilbe of the American Baptist College gratuitously took them to task by asking a series of questions, in the *Rangoon Gazette*, respecting the right of Buddhists to pray, the legitimacy and utility of their prayers, etc. But the gravity of the occasion called forth from all sides adverse criticisms which soon hushed the learned Professor into silence.

Who answers the prayers in Buddhism? It is recorded in the commentary on the *Cariya-pitaka* that Phussati, a queen of Sikra, before her death prayed to her husband for ten favours in the next existence. It must not, however, be understood that the King of gods granted her prayer.

This will be better understood from the following story of utilitarian prayers in the commentary on the *Dhammapada*.—There was a famine in Benares when even the wealthiest was affected. The millionaire Menḍa and his family, however, gave up their last meal to an Arahant to whom they all prayed as follows:—Menḍa prayed that all his granaries might be full for the benefit of the public. His wife also prayed that she might be in a position to help all the poor with meals. Their son prayed that his bag of Rs. 1,000/- might be inexhaustible after distribution among the needy, while the daughter-in-law prayed that her supply of a basket of seed might be similarly inexhaustible. Lastly, their slave prayed that his labours in the field might increase sevenfold. The Arahant answered: ‘ May you very quickly accomplish what you wish or pray for! Let all your good aspirations be fulfilled, even as the full moon!’ Their wishes were realised. But it is clear

¹ *The Cariya-pitaka*.

² *Ethics and Evolution*.

that it was not the Arahant who actually granted their prayers. His supplementary prayer merely acted as an exhortation to the well meaning and public spirited family in furtherance of their laudable object of helping the poor.

In Buddhism impersonal Karma or character is substituted for the personal God of Christianity. Karma is ultimately reducible to the will (cetanā) which is a power. The belief in a power may be used by Christians as an argument for the existence of God. But Buddhist prayers are not prompted by the vague fear of such a Being who, if not appeased by supplications, will visit his own children with harm, nor are they based on the conception equally vague that such a Being, if pleased, will bestow favours merely for the asking. Thunder as an angry weapon hurled from Olympus is a thing of the past. And Buddhists pray no more to please a personal God than they do to avert his anger.

Then are Buddhist prayers illegitimate? An act is illegitimate only when it does not conform to established laws. A Buddhist prayer does not clash with the fundamental principles of Buddhism. It works in harmony with the law of Karma, since, we shall see, it aids in the formation of character.

The utility of Buddhist prayers in the abstract is best set forth in the commentary on the *Sutta-saṅgaha* as well as in the commentary on the *Majjhima Nikāya* as follows:—

“The destiny of one who possesses faith, virtue, learning, liberality and wisdom, but does not pray is uncertain; the destiny of one who prays, but does not possess the above mentioned five qualities is also not certain; the destiny of one who prays as well as possesses them is certain. True. In the same way as it is not certain whether a stick thrown upward into the sky will fall by the head or tail or will fall flat, even so it is not certain where one will be reborn. Therefore, in performing a meritorious act it is proper to pray for a definite object.”

Psychologically, Buddhist prayers resolve themselves into two main classes:—

Main Classes of Buddhist Prayers.

(a) *Taṇhā-patthanā*—prayer as an outburst of a coarser desire;

(b) *Sammāchanda-patthanā*—prayer as an expression of a right inclination.

Each of these classes is again either egoistic or altruistic. That is, a man may pray for himself or others with a baser or nobler desire. Egoistic prayers are termed *atta-sineha-patthanā* (payer due to love of self) or *atta-sampatti-patthanā* (prayer for self-aggrandisement).

The most general form of prayer said by Burman Buddhists usually at the commencement of any act of worship is as follows:—

‘I beg leave! I beg leave to adore the Triple Gem—the Buddha, the Law and the Church—three times by act, word and thought.

By this act of worship—

May I be free from existence in the four miserable planes!

May I be free from the three scourges of mankind!

May I be free from the eight local faults!
 May I be free from the five enemies!
 May I be free from the eight perils!
 May I be free from the ten punishments!
 May I be free from the ninety-six diseases that flesh is heir to!
 And last of all may I attain Nibbāna!'

It will be noticed that the last prayer for Nibbāna, though couched in egoistic form, is really altruistic.

Egoistic prayers are, strictly speaking, opposed to the spirit of Buddhism, but countenanced in view of the human frailty, since it is not easy to attain Nibbāna in one life. It is clear that Buddhism also recognises deprecatory prayers. Invocatory and imprecatory prayers, though mentioned in Buddhist books, are not specially sanctioned.

A definition of prayer, which does not take Buddhist prayers into account will be too narrow. Our definition should be wide so as to include prayers not of any single nation but of the whole of mankind, whatever may be the religion of each race.

Prayer may, then, be defined as *an outward expression of the inward feeling of an intense desire for a benefit*, just as a sigh is an effervescence of sorrow.

The universal necessity of prayers follows from the above definition; for, every feeling has its natural language and desire is a feeling. It must express itself somehow. And prayer, among others, is a form of language in which the desire for one's good is best expressed. It is necessary to give a free vent to one's feelings. A strong burning desire which must be allowed to expend itself seeks the line of least resistance and breaks out into a prayer through the mouth which acts as a safety valve. Nothing can be worse than the mechanical restraint put upon its natural manifestation. Dr. Carpenter writes:—"It is a doctrine now generally received among practical men that paroxysms of violent emotional excitement are much more likely to subside when they are allowed 'to work themselves off' freely without any attempt at mechanical restraint."¹ In this sense then, prayer is a necessity to afford relief by preventing an explosion of a pent-up force inside.

The mental force of desire working within a human breast is as real as the physical forces inside the bowels of the earth to cause an outburst in either case. We may, therefore, compare prayers to volcanic eruptions with the natural escape of the gaseous forces. The phenomenon is as natural as the flash of lightning which is but a discharge of atmospheric electricity.

A force is a power which acts. Though under unfavourable conditions its effect may be counteracted or neutralised by an opposing force or forces. Professor Tyndall wrote as far back as 1872: "It is not my habit of mind to think otherwise than solemnly of the feeling which prompts prayer. It is a power which I should

¹ *Mental Physiology*, p. 328.

like to see guided and not extinguished—devoted to practicable objects instead of wasted upon air. In some form or other, not yet evident, it may, as alleged, be necessary to man's highest culture."¹

A strong driving force of desire urges us from within and a genuine prayer prompted by such a feeling will help us to form a definite goal. Such a prayer, if repeated in earnest, will aid us in the concentration of our thought on the object prayed for. The concentration of our mind re-acts on our will which grows with growth and is strengthened with strength. With our developed will-power, we mould and build up, or reform, our character so as to reach the end in view. Prayer as an expression of desire is answered when that desire is realised. But a wish is not accomplished by miraculously altering the course of nature. Everything happens according to inexorable and inflexible laws. That prayer is governed by the law of Karma may be inferred from the view that the Christian God helps only those who help themselves. Prayer as a form of energy does not reduce us to utter helplessness but rather inculcates a very high lesson of self-reliance. It rests with us whether we would utilise this available energy or dissipate it. The achievement of one's object depends not upon an external agency but upon his own Karma. Karma may be favoured by environments. Still it is left to us to adapt ourselves to environments or not. Should a man wish for wealth, property, possession, fame or power, he must work for them; should he wish for health, he must observe hygienic measures and sanitary rules. A lame man will never be able to move his paralysed limb, however much he may will. So if a man wishes to get a thing without fulfilling the necessary and adequate conditions for the accomplishment of that wish, his prayers, though repeated many a time, will never be answered. But suppose a man does a work of merit without saying any definite prayer. From the uniformity of Nature, from the law of Karma, the same desert should accrue to him as though it had been asked for. Is prayer, therefore, altogether a superfluity? My answer is in the negative. Prayer, like the helm by which a ship is steered towards its destination, acts as a guiding power in our destiny, as already referred to in a Buddhist quotation above.

Prayer occupies the same position as hope (Pali <i>Āsīsa</i>) in the life of an individual. One hopes to get what he prays for.	
Place of Prayer to the individual, the Church and the State.	The world rests on hope. A person without hope is lost to humanity for ever.

Hope is linked with faith in the future and faith is the life-blood of any religion of which the Church, or the Order as we Buddhists call it, is the noble representative. In this connection we may mention that every Buddhist religious writer prays for the future of the religion through the success of his work. Buddhaghosa's prayer—May the religion last long and may the people have respect for it!—may be instanced as one of the prayers that have been realised.

We have seen that prayer is also associated with faith in a higher power. A sense of allegiance to such a power means loyalty which is a valuable asset in a state.

¹ *Prayer as a Form of Physical Energy.*

In hypnotism we have a very strong argument for the utility of prayers. Every individual seeks his own good and prays for it, his egoistic prayers acting as auto-suggestions. Too much stress cannot be laid on the value of such suggestions in influencing the conduct of the individual to whom they are repeatedly made. But as in hypnosis, the success of the suggestion depends upon the individual Karma or character.

But a man may pray for others, as observed in the foregoing pages, not necessarily as an intercessor between man and God. An altruistic prayer begins with a small circle of family, the family affection being responsible for the prayer of the husband for the well-being of the wife or *vice versa*, and the parental love, for the good wishes of the parents towards their children. Next, we extend our prayers to our near relatives. This family circle is gradually widened so as to include first friends, next tribe, then race, then nation and lastly the whole world including our enemies. A prayer by Nanda for the *tree* of riches which satisfied the wants of the whole country is recorded in the commentary on the *Aṅguttara*. The following Buddhist love formula for all conceivable forms of creatures is a comprehensive altruistic prayer:—

May all creatures, all living things, all beings, all persons, all individuals, all females, all males, all Ariyans, all non-Ariyans, all gods, all mankind, all fallen angels be free from enmity, from care and from oppression!

May they all carry themselves happily!

May they all be freed from distress and adversity!

May they all not fall away from their respectively acquired prosperity!

May they all help themselves under the law of Karma!

The noble prayers instituted by the Metropolitan of India for the second Anniversary of the War included one even for our enemies.

But the accomplishment of the altruistic wish depends also upon the Karma or character of the person or persons for whom we pray. A parent naturally wishes for the welfare of their children. Some, however, misbehave themselves, despite the parental advice, and suffer the consequences of their misdeeds, notwithstanding the earnest prayers of the parent to the contrary. A teacher, too, wishes every pupil to learn and yet only a few become learned. The influence of parents, teachers and friends, nevertheless, form a very useful factor in the moulding of character. A man born in a wicked family is not likely to improve his character, his moral depravities, if any innate, being favoured by the atmosphere in which he moves and has his being. But association with good, pious and wise people will lead to improvement of his morals. Character, reformed under the influence of prayers, is of incalculable value to the Church.

Morally good people form good citizens and only good citizens have a sense of duty to the state. Their collective prayer for the common good of the state will result in acts of patriotism without which no state can ever thrive or flourish.

We have seen that such a guiding power and principle as prayers enables an individual to set before him an ideal towards the realisation of which he aspires. Without right aspiration a man cannot expect to succeed in his walk of life. A person who acts with a deliberate aim is more likely to hit his mark than one who acts at random. Ambition which rouses industry is necessary to get on in life. When a man wishes for success in life, there is always a certain amount of expectancy and expectant attention may be followed by assurance which is a valuable factor.

No human being is exempt from sickness. Every one is subject to diseases. And there is no one who will not pray for his own recovery from illness. His dear and near relatives as well as his friends also join him in his prayers. In order to appreciate the therapeutic value of these prayers, we have to consider a class of phenomena called faith-cures, Christian science cures, magnetic healing, hypnotic therapeutics, Buddhist *Paritta* ceremony, Burmese mental cures, healing of diseases by astrological devices to avert the evil influences of unlucky stars, by expatiation of spirits, etc. Now in all these different forms of healing, various devices have been adopted according to the particular beliefs entertained by the people among whom it is practised. But there is one underlying principle of suggestion. The suggestion of cure is made first by the reputation of the healer; secondly by his earnest wish to effect a cure; thirdly by the strong faith engendered in the mind of the patient, the particular device adopted in each case helping to concentrate the mind of both the healer and the healed on the one object of cure, beside serving as a side-aid to suggestion. A prayer for recovery from illness may, therefore, be regarded as a verbal suggestion as well as a device in healing. A case is recorded in the *Timsa Nipāta* of the cure of a very loathsome disease of Prince Sotthisena by the prayer of his wife Sambūla. She was suspected by her husband of infidelity on account of his affliction. And relying on her chastity she made an asseveration and prayed: 'If I be chaste as ever, may my husband be free from his disease and affliction!' It will be noticed that the chastity and faithfulness were made a condition of the fulfilment of her prayer.

Mankind pray in times of distress. For instance, they pray for safety in times of peril by seas or other straits. Thus shipwrecked sailors are recored in Buddhist scriptures as having invoked the assistance of their respective guardian spirits or gods to save them from the imminent danger of drowning. These sudden and spontaneous expressions of desire to avert the impending evils are sometimes accompanied by vows to do something in future in return for the safety. There is a story going round Burma that a jungleman crossing the Rangoon river in a small canoe was caught in a gale. He prayed that he might be safely landed and accompanied his prayer with a vow that he would gild the Shwedagon Pagoda with a packet of gold leaves. But as soon as he reached the bank safely he forgot all his promise and the votive

offering undertaken was never made. In any case, a deprecatory prayer in times of distress gives one hope and hope in turn gives him strength.

When Vesali was visited by such national calamities as famine, pestilence and war by demons the whole country headed by its King invited the Lord Buddha over from Sāvatti to perform the *Paritta* ceremony in order to ward off the evils which were successfully combated by the united prayers of the inhabitants led by Ānanda. The substance of the *Ratana sutta* recited on this occasion as well as on other similar occasions is as follows:—‘There is no jewel so excellent as the Buddha, the Law and the Order. By affirming this truth, may the people recover health and happiness!’ The present great European War, more than anything else, illustrates the value and utility of collective national prayers. Every true Britisher prays for one thing, namely the successful prosecution of the war to a victorious end. What is the result? Their united prayer has succeeded in miraculously raising an army of millions within the shortest possible time, by calling forth lavish contribution in men, money and materials from all parts of the British Empire. It has resulted in the transformation of traditional voluntarism into an unheard-of conscription. Thus, prayers have worked wonders.

Every nation on the face of the earth has its national ideals for its own advancement. These national ideals are the natural outcome of a nation's wish for the accomplishment of certain national objects in view. All patriotic members of a nation have at heart the interests of the nation as a whole. If they, as one man, silently or openly pray and work for the welfare of the nation, they are sure to attain their ideals. Japan is a noble example. The whole nation's prayer for a place among the great nations of the world has been answered in less than half a century.

In the foregoing pages we have referred to the united prayer of Britishers which has created Kitchener's army. We all have prayed for the brilliant success of the Allied arms. All true British subjects have prayed for the allied victory over the Huns. In this place I shall show how our prayers affect the Empire. The recent war gift raised in Burma appealed to the generous hearts of Burmans. But the present war loan, which is quite a new thing for them, must be addressed to their heads. If the manifold advantages of the loan be put fairly and squarely before the Burman public, even the meanest subject in the state should and would participate in it. Then the smallest investor would not like to lose his money, however little his sum might be. He would, therefore, pray for the stability of the British benign rule. And as the stability of the present *regime* depends upon the victory of the Allied nations over the Central Powers, he would also pray for the success of the Allied arms. The prayer for the stability of the British Government is the prayer for the safety of the province of Burma, which is the valuable asset of the British Empire worth securing. At present there is a lack of co-operation among the law-abiding classes who are, therefore, at a disadvantage when they are opposed to the bands of dacoits, etc. Loyal citizens would now

Prayer in Times of
National Danger.

Prayers in Relation to
National Ideals.

War Loan and Collective
Prayer.

band themselves on the side of law and order against the organisations of the lawless and the wicked. Thus while the war loan is of immense advantage to the individual because it inculcates thrift on his part and is good for the Empire because it supplies one of the sinews of the war, the collective prayer of investors, big and small, for the stability of the British Government would be of immediate benefit to Burma in the form of ensured safety and security from internal disorders.

The world cannot progress materially or spiritually without ideals. The material advancement of the world has been due to inventions which depend upon scientific ideas. Social progress has been due to socialistic movements. The recent Russian peaceful revolution is an advance towards democratic ideals. The American intervention is the maintenance of such ideals. The entire world ranged on the side of civilisation against barbarities and brutalities is but one united prayer of the Allied nations for the right against the wrong, for the triumph of right over might. It is a fervent prayer for freedom and justice. We have no doubt that this universal prayer will be answered within this year. Coming to the spiritual advancement of the world, we may instance the well known prayer of Sumedha for Buddhahood, for the good of humanity and for the progress of the world. It is recorded in Buddhist scriptures that he could attain Nibbana as a disciple during the time of Dipankara, if he liked. But he was determined to be a Supreme Buddha himself in order to save the world. So he prayed for Buddhahood at the feet of Dipankara. This prayer was neither the first nor the last of the Embryo Buddha's. His first open prayer is said to have been the outcome of his silent longings cherished for seven incalculable world-cycles. During this immense period of time he had been gradually building up his Karma or character, qualifying himself, step by step, for something better, something higher. But he had then not set before him the ideal very clearly. Led by the irresistible force of his character, his ardent desire found an outlet in open prayers for the ideal, now well defined, for thirteen more incalculable world-cycles, till his expectancy was turned into an assurance by Dipankara. Be it understood that Dipankara did not grant the prayer. He with unfailing foresight merely predicted the moral certainty of Sumedha becoming a future Buddha like himself, four incalculable world-cycles and a lakh thence. Now with an assurance of success Sumedha began to work with unflinching ardour, increased fervour and right earnestness for the accomplishment of his lofty aim. The dominant idea of Buddhahood born of right aspiration influenced his character throughout. Had he relaxed his unremitting zeal in practising the Ten Perfections after Dipankara's prophecy, he would not have achieved his object, he would not have attained his ideal. But the ideal served to keep him straight on his path with unswerving faith and with unfailing perseverance. In order words, the ideal became an impelling force towards the fulfilment of those Ten Perfections. So his prayer was answered. One-third of the world is now under the sway of Buddhism which is still gaining ground in the West and in the New World. Who can say that the peaceful conquest of Buddhism, which abhors bloodshed, will not make its

Prayer in Relation to
World Progress.

way into every occidental home and hearth which has lost its husbands,
brothers and sons in the present world's conflict or conflagration?

SHWE ZAN AUNG.

1. The first part of the document is a letter from the

author to the reader, in which he explains the purpose of the work and the method of investigation. He states that the purpose of the work is to determine the effect of the treatment on the growth of the plants.

U PÔNNYA'S PADUMA*

(A Criticism).

I am bound by my own definition of criticism: *a disinterested endeavour to learn and propagate the best that is known and thought in the world.*

—Matthew Arnold.

The plot of the play is of extreme simplicity. Bramadat, King of Benares apprehends danger from his seven sons. In consequence he banishes them to the Himalaya Mountains. On the way they find no food. All but Paduma, the eldest think to feed on the flesh of their wives in succession. Paduma gives his grudging consent. But when the turn comes for his wife, he flees with her to the banks of River Nadi. From its waters the Prince saves a wretch who has been maimed and sent adrift for theft. The Princess tempts the thief during Paduma's absence. She triumphs. On her husband's return she hurls him down a giddy precipice. He escapes death. He is carried back to Benares by an iguana. There he learns his father's death and is hailed King. In process of time, the Princess goes about begging in Benares with her disfigured husband. She is brought into Paduma's presence as a fit object of charity. He exposes her and orders the death of the infamous pair. He relents. Capital punishment is commuted into banishment. And so the play ends.

Now, what does U Pônnya wish to suggest by the opening scene? The King's drastic decision furnishes the answer. He feels that the atmosphere is tense with something awesome, something uncanny. Unplumbed possibilities confront him. He dreads the swelling strength of his sons. He therefore determines to be quit of them. To justify his action he gives a thin excuse. It is an excuse, and no more.

ရှည်လွန်းလျှင်မျက်။ တိုလျှင်ဆက်။ အတက်ရှည်သော်လို့။ နှုတ်သီးရှည်သော်တို့။ မင်းတို့ထုံးစံ။ ရာဇအင်္ဂါ။
† (To shorten the long and lengthen the short, to cut the long spur and clip the long beak—that is the duty of a King).

Paduma replies:—သားတော်များမှာ။ ရထားဆင်မြင်း။ သင်းပင်းရံရွှေ။ ရွှေငွေဥစ္စာ။ များပြားစွာဟူ။ နောက်ခါအရေး။ ဘုန်းမော်က။ တင်မြှင်တွေးလို့။ ဝေးရာဌာန။ တောမြိုင်ဝသို့။ ထွက်ကြသပင်။ အကြပ်နှင်၍။ ရှိရှင်ဝတ်တူ။ ချစ်သနာ။ ထောက်ထားညှာတာသင့်ပါသည်။ များစွာအစု။ ဗိုလ်ထုအားအင်။ ကုန်စင်မကျန်။ စရင်းထိန်း၍။ သိမ်းရံပြန်လျှင်။ (သားတော်များ၏။ သစ္စာရေပေး။ တိုက်ကျွေးမွေး၍။ အဝေးမသွား။ ညီခြောက်ပါးနှင့်။ ဆင်းရဲသားမျှ။ ဘုန်းမော်၏။ အားတော်များ၏။ ဒေါသကိုသိမ်းတော်မူပါဘုရား။ (Sovereign Sire, our strength and resources fill thee with dismay. Fear of future ill causes our banishment to a far-away forest. On our bended knees we cry for mercy. Strip us of our suite, and we cease to menace your peace. Make us swear fealty and grant us leave to wait upon thee as liegemen. We entreat thee to turn away thy wrath.)

This passage strikes the lyric note which runs through the whole play. It compares favourably with Bellario's pleading against Philaster's proposal to transfer his services.

* We invite criticism.

† All throughout we have taken exceptional liberties with the letter of the original in order to bring out its spirit.

Sir, if I have made
 A fault of ignorance, instruct my youth :
 I shall be willing, if not apt, to learn ;
 Age and experience will adorn my mind
 With larger knowledge : And if I have done
 A wilful fault, think me not past all hope,
 For once. What master holds so strict a hand
 Over his boy, that he will part with him
 Without one warning ? Let me be corrected,
 To break my stubbornness, if it be so,
 Rather than turn me off, and I shall mend.

—Beaumont and Fletcher

(*Philaster* Act II, Scene I)

It is plain that the difference between the two passages is one of degree and not of kind. There is a like intensity of feeling, a like emotional pitch. Both stir us to the very centre of our being.

But the King remains unmoved. There is no hesitation, no perplexity of soul. Neither does he show any sign of being racked by indecision. On the contrary he hurries his sons and their wives out of the land without a pang.

The scene changes. We are now in a forest with the banished band. Starvation stares them momentarily in the face. The long-drawn-out arguments of Paduma's brothers pivot round the words ကိုယ်ဝယ်မရှိ။ ပင်ပန်းဘိ။ အမိမှသော်။ သားမတော်။ (A mother in jeopardy forgets her child).

Their reasons leave Paduma quite cold. He sees things from another angle. His feeling words evidence his soft heart.

ညီတော်ခြောက်ပါ။ တင်စကားကို။ ကြားရတဲ့နှိမိတ်။ ကိုကိုကြည်ကွဲ။ ဝမ်းတော်နဲ့။ ရင်ထဲမှာထိတ်ပါဘိ။ ဖိတ်စက်ကယ်မရှင်။ သည်မြိုင်ခွင်မှာ။ အလျင်ပြီးအောင်။ ကိုကြီးလဲလို့။ တကတပြီးသေလိုက်ချင်ပါပေါ့ညီညီရဲ့။ (Dearly beloved brothers. Wild, whirling words these! My heart has been cleft in twain. O that I fell dead foremost in this forest!)

For all that, he subordinates his individual velleity to the common will of his brothers.

We are next called upon to witness the difficulties that full-front Paduma and his consort during their flight. The Princess is faint with thirst. The Prince negotiates the situation by moistening her lips with his own blood. What, then, is U Pönya's object in bringing in this incident? Personally we believe that it is meant to accentuate the Princess' faithlessness depicted in the next scene.

The dramatist carries us further into the plot. The Princess declares her passion for the maimed creature with unblushing phallic frankness. She wearies his negatives and achieves.

In the scene that follows we find her using the finesse of a woman. She is urgent with the Prince to accompany her to a mountain in order to sacrifice to a *nat* (fairy) in fulfilment of a vow. Then she pushes him down the mountain. Her darkful deed does not strain credulity to breaking-point when we regard it in the light of the long string of English tragedies that

paint with insistent colours the lives of "noble harlots" ranging from the frankly and joyously cruel Tamora of Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* to the insufferably and distressingly fair Vittoria of Webster's *White Devil*. She is no queen of tragedy like Vittoria Corombona or Cleopatra. Rather, she is a woman of the butterfly type and belongs to the tribe of Cressida. She shakes our faith in women to the roots and makes us echo Hamlet's words "Frailty, thy name is woman!"

The lines are indeed fallen to the Prince in unpleasant places. His sentiment cannot be far removed from that which inspired the following simple, sweet and spontaneous Magyar love-song.

She is born of noble stem,
Fairer than the fairest gem
Which upon her robe doth shine,
Graceful, beautiful, divine.
What avails it all to me?
She is false as false can be.

A new scene introduces an iguana. To it the Prince recounts his indignant tale. By its kind offices he reaches his native city where he is acclaimed King.

The scene shifts. The Princess returns to Benares with her paramour who styles her လင်းကြီးကိုပေါက်တတ်တဲ့။ မြွေဟောင်း။ (A female cobra that bites her first mate). Its harrowing vividness brings to mind Antony's description of Cleopatra, to wit "My serpent of old Nile." It is of interest to observe that East and West alike see in the serpent the symbol of the fatal forces wielded by women.

In the final scene Paduma makes known his wife's act of burning shame and banishes her the kingdom. A murderess in intention if not in fact can scarcely expect a better fate. The mills of God grind slow but they grind small.

In our previous article on "Wizaya" we noticed its vulnerable points. Much of what we observed applies with equal force to the present play. The flaws are fundamentally fatal to the romantic conception of tragedy. Criticism has grouped tragedy into two broad divisions—classical and romantic. The classical form at its purest is essentially the creation of ancient Greece, while the romantic drama finds supremest expression in Shakespeare. In the one, coherence of plot holds the prerogative place; in the other, character becomes the alpha and omega of dramatic art. Since the main business and function of drama is to represent an idealized interpretation of life, it merely argues dull brains to attempt to deny the immense advantage possessed by romantic tragedy.

The more formal side of the genius of U Pônnya is shot with the classical spirit. His drama is pre-eminently a drama of action, of situation, of plot. It would be well to consider for a short space the exact values we attach to these three terms.

In intensity they form an ascending series. Action is mere incident and may be considered the most elementary form of drama. A play may possess action apart from situation or plot; witness Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*.

Neither consistency nor compactness *are* to be found in a play so written. Obviously it is drama at its crudest.

When we come to "situation," we have incident employed for a distinctly artistic purpose, co-ordinated in a distinctly artistic way, fraught with a distinctly artistic meaning. The third Act of the *White Devil* is a classic instance of dramatic situation.

Lastly there is the plot. It is neither more nor less than a succession of situations hinged upon the pivotal point of the play. Expand the situation, extend it so as to embrace a broader sweep of events; and we have the plot.

In the play under review there is little or no action and the plot is simple in the extreme. The story runs its course straightforwardly. It is not knotted and unknotted. But in the handling of dramatic situation U Pônnya's hand shows its cunning. The closing scene where the Princess enters Paduma's presence as a suppliant is full of dramatic effect. The wife of his bosom who has flown into the arms of one whom he has snatched from death out of pure pity is now unconsciously brought to her knees. He knows her, soliloquizes and plies her with questions. His souring experience must surely have produced in him a tight-throated feeling. The Princess on the other hand, does not recognize him and invents a tale of deathless devotion. Imagine the fever of excitement, imagine the turmoil of emotion; and then we get an idea of the situation.

In the whole play there is only a single soliloquy. It is a thousand pities that the dramatist does not introduce it often. As regards its place in the drama, a word may be added here. In recent drama Ibsen has set the fashion of abolishing the soliloquy as an "artificiality" and has struck out the idea of a "natural" dialogue. After the production of *A Doll's House* in England in 1889, G. B. Shaw and his set followed in the steps of Ibsen. Admire as we may the clever animated talk of their much idea'd characters, we are not inclined to consider the innovation a gain. We defy anybody to read *Hamlet* or *Macbeth* and not cherish the soliloquies as the very pith and marrow of those tragedies. It is urged that the soliloquy is clearly a convention. Granted. But then, is not the poetic form in itself a convention? Is it to be eliminated because it is artificial? If so, where shall we end? This beggarly conception is due to a fundamental error in regard to the true function of drama. The aim of art in general and drama in a superlative degree is not to show nature as she really is but to idealize and heighten her by the touch of genius.

Another point asks attention. The tragic tension of the play is scarcely relaxed by any comic element. This is in strict accordance with the classical tradition. Our over-strained senses demand and rightly demand some relief. Even in the prose part of life, tears and laughter, tragedy and comedy will be found to chase each other. Shakespeare as the supreme interpreter of life blends these two contrary elements in his great plays. Which of us does not welcome with appreciative gratitude the porter-scene in *Macbeth* and the graveyard scene in *Hamlet*, the scene between the Clown and the musicians in *Othello* and the scenes between the Fool and the King

in *Lear*? Still our shattering laughter serves to intensify by contrast the thickening gloom and the impending doom.

It remains to say a few words as to U Pônnya's style. It would be unfair to him, while making due mention of his lapses, to pass over his merits. We may see his limitations and still not be blind to his distinctive qualities. He has a fascination that is all his own. In literal truth, like Coleridge's *Ancient Mariner*, he holds us with his glittering eye.

His poetry is purely the poetry of a lyrist—limpid, rhythmical, musical, emotional. It is crowded with "things of beauty" which are hauntingly sweet. The choiceness of the phrasing, the music of the sentences, the modulation of the cadences, can only be appreciated in the original Burmese. The phraseology is so common yet so charming. The magic of genius has lifted it up to noble uses. In purity of phrase, in simplicity of expression, U Pônnya's style appears to be the extreme artistic development of our tongue.

His mentality is cast in the lyric mould. Lyric fancy pervades the play. Its lyrical ease, varied charm and delicate rhythm are reminiscent of Beaumont and Fletcher's "dramatic romances." A "dramatic romance" has not the intensity of tragedy but has more emotion and more poetry than an ordinary comedy. Variation of incident is preferred above concentration of design, strangeness of situation takes precedence of emotional conflict and amatory passion forms the motive force. Judged by this standard, "*Paduma*" must be considered an achievement.

We are not at all sure that the play can be called a "problem play" in the strictest sense of the term. Yet it acts as a spur to our intellect and rouses our interest in one of the baffling problems of life. As we close its pages Flamineo's withering words keep recurring to our minds:—"Trust a woman! never, never! . . . For one Hypermnestra that saved her lord and husband, forty-nine of her sisters cut their husbands' throats all in one night." (*The White Devil* Act V, Scene 6). It is one thing to win smiles and hands: it is another to win a woman whom you can trust before the enemy. But there is also the other side of the picture. Women will give us the other half of the truth. However this may be, the dramatist's prime purpose seems to be to bid us beware lest we give our strength to women. Has he achieved his end? We answer, Yes!

BA HAN.

SOME MON PLACE-NAMES.

The following are some suggested derivations of place-names in that part of Lower Burma which was the original habitat in Burma of the Mons or Talaings. Attempts have been made from time to time to attach Burmese or Pali meanings to the names of places—the former mainly puerile, the latter influenced by ideas of grandiloquence. Those now given are necessarily tentative, though certainly entitled to consideration in so far as it seems natural that place-names in Mon Country should have Mon significations, unless obviously Burmese.

RANGOON—Bur. *yan-gon* (lit.—the 'war finished'), probably an Alompraic pun on the second syllable of the Mon colloquial name *Dă-gon*—ဒဂုံ from ဒဂံ but written ငွါငွေ in several works. The name was first given to the great pagoda, and thence to the neighbouring village—later a town *temp.* Shin Sawbu. Hobson-Jobson quotes from J. A. S. B. xxviii. 477:—"In the Talaing language *tă' kkūn* signifies "athwart," and after the usual fashion, a legend had grown up connecting the name with a story of a tree lying "athwart the hill-top" which supernaturally indicated where the sacred relics of one of the Buddhas had been deposited." It also gives Dr. Forchhammer's derivation from *Trikumbha-nagara* or *Tikumbha-nagara*, signifying "3-Hill city" (as found in the Kalyani inscriptions), whence *Tikum*, *Tākum* and, last, *Tākun*. But the author of the Kalyani may have been coining a classical name, and the *l* in the written name is still unaccounted for. Another derivation is from ဝိငွါငွေ "high land"—on which the pagoda was built. Still another is that the hill was known as ဂြင်ငွါငွေ *gruīng laguñ*.

KAMAYUT—Bur. ကမာရွတ် from Mon ကွာ "a tank," and ရတ် (pron. *rote*), "ratana," (the three "Gems" of Buddhism—the Buddha, Dhamma, and Sangha). This was the indigenous name for the present Victoria Lake, near which was situated the old village.

INSEIN—Bur. အင်းစိန် from Mon အင် "a pool" and စိန် "an elephant." There is in the modern town of Kamayut a perennial fresh-water spring which flows from under the stone figure of an elephant. It is believed to be what is left of the "elephant pool" of ancient days.

MINGALADON—Bur. မင်္ဂလာဒုံ from Mon proper name *Mingala*, a fabulous creature, with the head of a man and the body of a stag or *vice versa*, who, according to tradition, was given the lordship of the locality, and ချင် ညှုန်—"a town."

KYAIKKASAN—Bur. ကျိုက်ကဆံ from Mon ကျိ *Kyaik*, "pagoda," and သံ *sāng*, "sangha" or "the clergy." The *Ka* in the second syllable comes from the Mon pronunciation of the last letter in *Kyaik*. Compare *Kyaikkatha*, below. Tradition ascribes the founding of the pagoda near Thingangyun to certain arahats who dwelt on Kawsang ကံသင် "clergy island." Hence

THINGANGYUN should be Thinga-gyun သံသာကျွန်း. There were islands not far from Rangoon in olden days; as again

KAWCHÈ—Bur. ကော့ချီ from Mon ကံ "an island," and ချေန် *cheh*, "a horse."

DABEIN—written in Bur. *သဲပိန်* *dha-pein*, is possibly a corruption of *Kādap cin* *ကုသပ်ခိန်* where *Kādap* (coll. merely *dap*), “head,” and *cin*, “Indra,” the Sakka or Thagya-min.

PEGU—Bur. *ပဲခူး* or *ပဲခူး* or *ပဲခူး* but always pronounced *ပဲခူး* *pa-go*, is found written in Mon *ပေဂီ* *bǎ-go* (meaning unascertained). In Burmese history and verse it is sometimes called *ဥဿာဝတူ* *ussa pè-gu*. According to Hobson-Jobson, the Malays called it *paigu*.

ZAINGGANAING—is that part of modern Pegu west of the river, and hence outside the mediæval city. It means “outskirts of the forest,” from *ဇို* “foot” and *ဂိုင်* (from which also comes the Bur. *ဂိုင်*) “forest.”

SITTANG—Bur. *စစ်တောင်း* which nearly represents the Mon pronunciation *sǎ-taung* *သတိုင်* supposed to be a corruption of *သက်တိုင်* of which the meaning is not clear.

MOKPALIN—Bur. *မုတ်ပလင်* from Mon *မုတ်* “face” or “front,” and *ပလင်* “altar” or “throne.”

KYAIKKATHA—Bur. *ကျိက်ကသာ* from Mon *Kyaik*, “pagoda,” and *အသး* *Asah* (the name of a prince). The Burmese name of *Asah* is *Attha*, the prince mentioned in the *Kywema-nankayaing zat*. He built the pagoda at this place over his mother's remains, and took his name from a similar Mon word meaning “frontier,” “border” or “boundary.”

KYAIKTO—Bur. *ကျိက်တို* from Mon *Kyaik*, and *တောင်* *hto*, “bumble-bee.”

THATON—Bur. *သတုံ* and found in Mon *သဒ္ဓိ* *sǎ-dhuim*. The derivation from *Sudhamma-nagara* sometimes advanced is probably a fabrication. U Naw, in his *Mun Yazawin*, says that it is a corruption of *သွင်တုံ* and this seems supported by the use of the name *Kǎ-hton* by the older generation. But it is possible that the true derivation is from a Shan or Taungthu name.

ZINGYAIK—was first the name of the village which lies at the foot of the hill on which is built the pagoda now known as the Zingyaik Pagoda. It comes from *ဇို* “foot” and *kyaik*.

PAUNG—Bur. *ပေါင်* is Mon *ပိုင်* “to add” (Bur. *ပေါင်း*). Possibly—“the village added on” to another.

MARTABAN—Bur. *မုတ္တမ* (but pron. *mǎdǎma*), is probably Mon *မုတ်တုံ* *muh-tǎmarw*, “spur of the rock.” The old city was on the hill behind the present railway town.

MOULMEIN—(also written “Maulmain”)—Bur. *မော်လမြိုင်* *marw-lamraing* is a corruption of Mon *မော်မြီ* which is an abbreviation of *မော်လမြီ* *mote*, “eye,” *mzvai*, “one,” and *lerm*, “destroyed.” There is a tradition, similar to that of *Duttabaung* of *Prome*, of a King with a miraculous third eye which was destroyed through the machinations of a jealous queen.

TAVOY—Bur. *တပွယ်* but pron. *da-wai*, from Mon *တပွယ်* *dhǎ-wai*, “sitting cross-legged”—like a Buddha image. The second syllable is pronounced *wye* on the Moulmein side. An Upper Burma inscription has *တပွယ်* with the same meaning, and it is the forbear of the modern *တပွယ်*. The original *Kyaik-da-wai* is said to have been an image thus seated.

TENASSERIM—Bur. တနင်္သာရီ Mon တနင်္တြီ *tā-nang-sri*. Hobson-Jobson says, "We have the name probably from the Malay form *Tanasari*. We do not know to what language the name originally belongs." Has the တနင် anything to do with the same prefixes in the Burmese names for Sunday and Monday?

HMAWBI—thus pronounced in Bur., but written မော်ဘီ or မော်ဝီ is Mon မူဟိ "bend," and မီ *bi*, "a river."

THARAWADDY—wrongly spelt with a *y* in Bur. is Mon ထြာဝတီ *sar-va-tī*, possibly from Hindu name *srasvati*. In the same district is Tharawaw.

TAPUN—Bur. တာပုန် Mon တာ *ta*, "a palm tree," and ပန် *pone*, "four."

SYRIAM—Bur. သံလျင် *than-lyin* (but pron. တညင် *tā-nyin*) is called in Mon ထြိုင် pron. *Sri-erng*. Older spellings are Sirian, Serian, Siriaō (Portuguese) and Cirion (Fitch).

DALLA—Bur. သလ *dā-la*, is found in Mon သလ and သူ and may be a later pronunciation of တူ *tla*, "lord."

KANAUNGTO—Bur. ခနောင်တို is Mon တုံ (pron. *Kā-nom*), "a tree" and တို *to* "wild mangosteen"—(Bur. သစ်တို).

TWANTE—Bur. တွံတေး is Mon တွာန် *twān*, "a village," and either ဒို *de*, "hill" or ခေ *de*, "younger brother." In view of the situation of the town, the former interpretation is the more probable.

DEDAYÈ—Bur. ဒေးဒဲ is Mon ဒို *de*, "hill," and ဒြဲ *da-rai*, "deer," (same as Bur. ဒရယ်).

PYAPON—Bur. ပျာပုံ is Mon ပျာ *pya*, "bazaar," or "a stall," and ပုင် *puñ*, "cooked rice."

YANDOON—Bur. ညောင်တုံး *nyaung-don*, seems to be Burmese, but it may be that the *don* is Mon သိုင် as in Mingaladon and Mudon.

KYONPYAW—Bur. ကြိုင်မြေ from Mon ကြိုင် *Kruñ*, "a creek," and မြဲ *braw*, "woman."

BASSEIN—Bur. ပုသိမ် (sometimes ပုသိန်) is found in Mon ပသိမ် but in classic form it is ကုသိမ္မရာဇ် probably founded on ကံ *Kazv*, "island," and သွိုင် *smin*, "King." Both Caesar Frederike and Fitch wrote it "*Cosmin*," and other forms are *Kusuma*, *Cosmin*, and *Cosmi* (see Hobson-Jobson). But an old form, *Persaim*, also exists.

MAY OUNG.

THE BUDDHIST PHILOSOPHY OF THE REAL.—(contd.)

PART II.

OUR KNOWLEDGE OF THE REAL.

(a) *Various Kinds of Knowledge.*

The reality, as succinctly explained and briefly described in Part I, is perceivable by SAÑÑĀ as an object of consciousness (VIÑÑĀNA). That is, it is given to us as a sense-datum. This datum is also understandable by PAÑÑĀ.

SAÑÑĀ has the characteristic of *noting* an object. Like a carpenter who marks his pieces of wood for joining, its function is to make a mark for future recognition of the object as the same which was previously perceived. It appears as a phenomenon of perception by means of marks made by itself. In this respect it is comparable to a blind man who, feeling an elephant by its legs perceives it to be like four mortar-blocks, or to another blind man who, feeling it by the ears, conceives it to be like two circular baskets, or to a third who, feeling it by the tail, takes it to be like a broom. This will remind English readers of Bishop Watson's 'gnat mounted on an elephant, and laying down theories as to the whole internal structure of the vast animal from the phenomena of the hide.' It may also be likened to the perception of a young deer which, on seeing a human figure made of grass, mistakes it to be a living man. Any sense-datum may be its proximate cause.

PAÑÑĀ, on the other hand, has the mark of (a) understanding common and individual characteristic features of a thing, or, (b) penetrating right into the inside of it, like the piercing of an arrow shot by a clever archer. Its function is to light up objects, as a lamp. It appears to us as intelligence (asammoha) and may be compared to an expert forest guide.¹

Now, PAÑÑĀ² is a generic term which may be rendered by 'understanding.' It includes all kinds of ÑĀNA's—intellect, intelligence, insight—in all phases of its development ranging from scientific knowledge to spiritual insight.

Insight may be analytic (paṭisambhidā-ñāṇa) or intuitive (paṭi-vedha-ñāṇa). The latter corresponds to Bergson's intuition. Therefore, the rest of our knowledge, including analytic knowledge, go to make up his first³ kind of knowing a thing.

Buddhaghosa said that the real is not to be known through tradition, report, etc.⁴ But he distinguished three kinds of knowing a thing through

¹ See the *Aṭṭhasālinī*.

² Pa-ñāṇam. The prefix 'pa' has the sense of 'pabheda' or 'pakāra'—'different divisions.' So the word Paññā has to be construed according to the context.

³ Cf. 'Philosophers agree in distinguishing two profoundly different ways of knowing a thing. The first implies that we move round the object; the second, that we enter it.' Bergson's *Intro. to Metaph.*, p. 1.

⁴ Anussavādi. Any modern commentator may include under the useful 'etc.' history, geography, description, explanation, notation, representation and analysis. Cf. 'Description, history and analysis leaves me here in the relative.' *Op. cit.*, p. 4. Contrast: 'What depends on testimony, like the facts of history and geography which are learnt from books, has varying degrees of certainty according to the nature and extent of the testimony.' Russell's *Low. Lec.* 1914, p. 67. Macaulay considered Bishop Watson's comparison of geologists to his gnat unjust, but thought it applicable to superficial historians. But in our view even Macaulay's ideal historian is no better than geologists who dive deeper below the surface of the earth.

perception, consciousness and understanding. Both Sumaṅgala of Ceylon and Ariyavaṁsa of Sagaing (15th century) followed the divine in this scholastic distinction. Their stock illustration is that of a gold coin.¹ A boy merely *notes* its colour, but he does not know that it is gold; an adult villager, however, knows it to be gold, though he does not understand whether it is counterfeit or alloyed, that it was done by a certain mint master and how much its true value is; but a goldsmith or metal expert understands them all. Here the boy is comparable to SAÑÑĀ which takes mere notes of marks; the adult, to VIÑÑĀṆA which is capable of knowing common and individual characteristics of things: and the metal expert, to PAÑÑĀ which is capable of reaching the intuition.²

Strictly speaking however, SAÑÑĀ and VIÑÑĀṆA are inseparable in any psychic state or act. This act is sometimes accompanied by PAÑÑĀ and sometimes not. Hence there are really two modes of knowing a thing, that is, with or without PAÑÑĀ. Whenever SAÑÑĀ is predominant as in the case of a boy, the accompanying VIÑÑĀṆA drops out of popular language (abbohārika). In the case of understanding common and individual characteristics of things by VIÑÑĀṆA through PAÑÑĀ, the latter is ignored in common usage. But when PAÑÑĀ reaches the intuition both SAÑÑĀ and VIÑÑĀṆA, which follow its lead, are neglected in ordinary parlance.³ Thus it is clear that the scholastic distinction merely follows the popular one.

But Dr. Ledi takes a different line. According to him VIÑÑĀṆA is knowing in divers modes. Among these different modes SAÑÑĀ is an important element as it contains the germ of our memory. As regards PAÑÑĀ he writes:—

“It (i. e. PAÑÑĀ) is knowing everything knowable about anything. * * By ‘understanding’ is meant an exhaustive knowledge of all this, for it is said: ‘The limit of knowledge is the knowable; the limit of the knowable is the knowledge.’ This is said touching omniscience, and it is to be understood as referring to...the Abhidhamma, more especially the seventh, the great book of the Patthana. * * * Omniscient knowledge may be illustrated by the chapter in the Patisambhidā-magga,⁴ containing an exposition of unobstructed knowledge. The knowledge of the learner may be illustrated by the chapter on the exposition of terms. The knowledge of the great majority may be illustrated by various knowledges in work, arts and science, in....method,....”⁵

In another place⁶ he writes:—

“But knowledge is twofold—inferential and intuitive. When ordinary persons are investigating abstruse, subtle, recondite matters, their knowledge is inferential. When they attain to intuition in such matters, they have trained their mind, trained their understanding, and so have reached to intuition. Their know-

¹ It is interesting that Bergson has also adopted the gold coin illustration but in a different way. Cf. ‘Viewed from inside, then, an absolute is a simple thing; but looked at from outside, that is to say, relatively to other things, it becomes in relation to these signs which express it the gold coin for which we never seem able to finish giving small change.’ *Op. cit.*, p. 6.

² P. 298, Vol. II, Pye’s combined ed. of *Tikāgyaw and Maṇisāramañjūsā*. Intuition stands for Magga-ñāṇa which alone penetrates the real.

³ See *Tikāgyaw* Pye’s ed. of *Three Tikās*, p. 93.

⁴ Institution *plus* analysis.

⁵ Ledi, pp. 142, 143, *J. P. T. S.*, 1913-14.

⁶ Ledi, *op. cit.* pp. 154, 155.

ledge being intuitive—that is to say, they having discarded the notion ‘person,’ ‘being,’ ‘self,’ ‘living thing’—they cognise under the aspect of the purely phenomenal, of the purely elemental.

Now mind, mental factors, material quality, Nibbana are such abstruse.... matters. For the trained.... who are unable to suspend even for a moment the notion of ‘person,’ ‘being,’ ‘self’ (soul), ‘living thing,’ the real nature of these phenomena are beyond the average range of their ken. But these matters are within the range of the intelligence which knows by way of intuition. For those whose knowledge has been abundantly trained in the doctrine of the intuitively wise Ariyan philosophers, even their inferential knowledge may be said to partake of the nature of intuitive knowledge, since it *invariably leads* to the latter kind. By persistent cultivation that inferential knowledge is changed into intuitive knowledge.¹ With others, inferential knowledge ever follows after the ‘person,’ the ‘entity.’ Such people may freely talk about philosophical subjects, but their knowledge is running along person-cum-entity lines.² For they whose knowledge has not *penetrated* the fact of the arising and ceasing.... are blind.”

The *Kathāvatthu* distinguishes popular knowledge, analytic knowledge and intuitive knowledge. Popular knowledge concerns conventional truths based on concepts; analytic knowledge is higher.³ But analysis is contrasted with intuition.⁴

Buddhists recognise four kinds of analysis⁵ :—

- (a) Analysis of things;
- (b) Analysis of causes;
- (c) Analysis of language; and
- (d) Analysis of analysing intellects.

For example, a chemist may analyse common salt into sodium and chlorine and a metaphysician may go further and logically analyse the indivisible atoms, ions or electrons of these chemical elements into mutually inseparable, ultimate data. A physicist may observe their properties, functions, effects and proximate causes. But a metaphysician may analyse these causes. A natural philosopher may define ‘salt,’ ‘sodium,’ ‘chlorine,’ ‘element,’ ‘ultimate,’ ‘data’ and any other terms involved. A metaphysical logician may analyse the language of these definitions. Each one of them may review the various stages of their intellectual process of analysis or we may analyse their analysing intellects themselves.

But no amount of analysis, no amount of explanations, no amount of definitions will, as we Buddhists say, give us any real knowledge of salt until we taste it.

A further example of how descriptions are misleading may be given here. A person was trying to describe the white colour of milk to a born-blind. He first compared the colour of milk to that of a paddy-bird and then described the paddy-bird by its crooked neck and finally compared the crooked

¹ Cf. ‘Even in the simple and privileged case which we have used as an example, even for the direct contact of self with the self, the final effort of distinct intuition would be impossible to any one who had not combined and compared with each other a very large number of psychological analyses.’ Berg. *Intro. to Metaph.*, p. 78.

² Cf. ‘Our intellect, when it follows its natural bent, proceeds on the one hand by solid perceptions, and on the other by stable conceptions.’ *Op. cit.*, p. 56.

³ See *Points of Controversy*, p. 179.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 133.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 373.

neck to an elbow. And the blind man conceived the white colour to be something like the elbow.

(b) *Preliminary Analysis of The Real.*

The irreducible minimum of analysis demanded of Ariyan candidates is with reference to the four Ariyan facts which may be stated in the form of what Bertrand Russell calls atomic propositions.¹—

- I. This is ill (*Idaṃ dukkhaṃ*).
- II. This the cause of ill.
- III. This is the cessation of ill.
- IV. This is the way thereto.

The candidate must distinguish the 'this' in each of these propositions. In the general proposition—'All things in the making are ill' (*Sabbe saṅkhārā dukkhā*)—things include personalities. But of all personalities in the world he must single out his own. In the *Yamaka* which was intended to solve doubts of new converts, physical and mental sufferings, which are ill proper, were mentioned in the saving clause,² not because they do not constitute ill but because there was no doubt of their being ill. The rest of our personality are not recognised as ill except by Buddhists. This distinguishes a Buddhist from a non-Buddhist. But an Ariyan goes a step further in abstracting *craving* from our personality not as a fact of ill but as the cause of ill. Therefore the fact of ill is our personality *minus* craving. But as it is inseparable from personality, to mentally separate is a work of analysis. and to analyse is to discriminate the ill as 'so much, neither more nor less.'³ Again, the eight factors of the path-intuition, which constitute the fourth Ariyan fact, must be mentally separated from the rest of their concomitants which may be placed under the category of ill by concession. By concession, because the path-intuition and its fruit are by definition 'out of the world' (*lokuttarā*). The fact involved in the third proposition is the cessation of the fact of ill. Therefore, there is but one reality in the form of our flowing personality for penetration by the path-intuition. By intuition we do not mean the knowledge of the abstract truths of these four atomic propositions, much less of all universal or general⁴ propositions.

The 'is' in these singular propositions is not the copula 'is' of traditional logic, but it is the 'is' of identity of what we may call natural logic.⁵ In Buddhism a thing is identical with itself only at a single moment of its existence.⁶ We may change the first atomic proposition into 'This ill *is*.'⁷ Applying 'this' and 'ill' to one and the same personality that *is*, that *exists*, or that *is existing*, at the given moment, we may say that the two terms are

¹ *Pts. of Controv.*, p. 189. Cf. Russell's *Low. Lect.*, p. 53. Also cf. the proposition—'This is what is.' Berg. *Crea. Evol.*, p. 157.

² The *Yamaka*, Vol. I, p. 174.

³ *Parijānanto'ti ettakaṃ dukkhaṃ, na ito unādhikanti parichijja jānanto.* P. 299, Pye's combined ed. of *Tikāgyaw and Maṇisāra*.

⁴ Cf. 'In this sense metaphysics has nothing in common with the generalisation of facts.' Berg. *Intro. to Metaph.*, p. 79.

⁵ On the confusion between the two, see note on p. 39, Russell's *Low. Lec.* 1914.

⁶ On the difference between logical identity and natural identity, see pp. 131, 132, Mrs. Rhys Davids' *Buddhism*.

⁷ On the meaning of 'is,' see n. i., p. 22, *Pts. of Controv.*

identical in meaning, the same in connotation and denotation.¹ We regard the original thing, to which both terms are referred, as a simple, indivisible whole or unit.² And we regard it as real only while existing at the present moment³ in its duration through time.

This analysis throws light on the question of reality, but even as in the case of the salt illustration, we know not the nature of the real without penetration.

(c) *How To Know The Real.*

As analysis fails us, we must, as Bergson says, 'make efforts to gradually accustom our mind to a certain definite disposition which would direct our consciousness to the precise point where the reality is to be seized by intuition.' For this exercise a graduated course of successive insights (*vipassanā's*) is laid down in Buddhism and is summarised in Part IX of the *Compendium*⁴ as follows:—

To have a clear idea of a thing is to understand first its individual characteristics (*sabhāva-lakkhaṇa*) and then its common characteristics (*sāmañña-lakkhaṇa*). For the purpose of understanding the former, its properties and functions must be studied; its resulting phenomena and effects must be observed and its proximate causes, traced. The last presupposes a recognition, on our part, of the causal law—'B happens because of A'—after the *Paṭicca-samuppāda* method. Its recognition as universal is based on our belief in the uniformity of Nature. Having understood the individual characteristics, we compare one thing with the other and abstract those characteristics common to as many instances as we have observed and finally generalise them into concepts. Among the common features are noticed three universally common characteristics of impermanence or change, ill and soullessness. Then only can an Ariyan candidate be said to have sound scientific views or, as we Buddhists say, 'the purity of views' about a thing or things.⁵ When he knows its causes, he transcends doubt,⁶ since to know the cause of a thing is to explain it.

¹ Es'ese ekatthe same samabhāge tājāte. See *Pts. of Controv.*, p. 24.

² Appipam karitvā—'making it indivisible'—occurs in three places in the *Kathāvatthu* and is explained by Buddhaghosa according to the context. In the note on p. 24 of the *Pts. of Controv.* the comment is better translated into—'making the body as a simple, inseparable and indivisible unit.' Cf. n. 2, p. 87, *op. cit.*

³ *Op. cit.* p. 87, n. 1; p. 94, n. 5.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 65–68, 212–216.

⁵ Bergson does not despise intellect and science. He merely distinguishes them from intuition and philosophy. According to him, philosophy ought to follow science and superpose on it a knowledge of the absolute in which we live, move and have our being.

⁶ It is reality itself that we reach by continued and progressive development of science and philosophy. Only we get into this reality more and more completely in proportion as we transcend pure intelligence.' *Crea. Evol.*, pp. 209, 210. Cf. 'In principle, positive science bears on reality itself, provided it does not overstep the limits of its own domain which is inert matter.' *Op. cit.*, p. 218. Cf. also '....., it (i.e. philosophy) is true evolutionism and consequently the true continuation of science.' *Op. cit.*, p. 391. In this connection the difference between philosophical and scientific methods will be interesting. 'The distinctive character of this philosophical method is that it apprehends the whole before it apprehends the part and that it interprets the parts as a dissociation within a whole. Science, on the other hand, conceives the whole as an association of its parts.' Carr's *Phil. of Change*, p. 19.

⁶ It is said that philosophy began with doubt. But it is necessary that the Cartesian doubt or the 'methodological doubt' of Russell must be transcended.

He now selects his own personality as the representative or, as Bergson would say, the model of all the rest in the universe for contemplation because it is the best thing that can be seized from within.¹ Ledi writes on SACCĀ in his *Paramattha-dīpanī*:—

“ But of all true facts of ill in the whole of the universe only subjective or internal organism as included in our own personality is recognised as an Ariyan fact of ill.² True, it alone forms the basis of the soul theory which gives rise to all sorts of ills. Therefore, our personality must be understood after discrimination³ (from other facts of ill).”

(1) The candidate, then, contemplates his personality by the three universally common characteristics—impermanence by reason of change, ill by reason of danger and soullessness by reason of non-entity. And he does so by way of duration, continuity⁴ and moments. That is, he regards his personality as a *continuous duration from moment to moment*.

(2) Next, his contemplation follows⁵ it in its continual waxing and waning,⁶ i. e. being and non-being which constitute becoming or, as Bergson would say, in its duration, from moment to moment. When he finds the cause of this ceaseless flux, he is apt to think that he has reached the intuition. The error is inimical to further progress. But should he overcome the obstacle, he is said to have ‘the purity of vision’ in being able to discern non-intuition as distinguished from what is really intuition.

Then, there is a regular progression of insights upward through insights into things as—

- (3) dissolving,
- (4) fearful,
- (5) dangerous,
- (6) disgusting,
- (7) something from which to escape,
- (8) something about which to philosophise for such escape,

¹ The motto ‘Know thyself’ of the Greek philosopher is no less Buddhist. Cf. ‘There is one reality, at least, which we all seize from within by intuition and not by simple analysis. It is our personality in its flowing through time—our self which endures.’ Berg. *Intro. to Metaph.*, p. 8. Cf. also ‘...but there is one of these objects which we know in a way in which we know nothing else, this is our body.’ Carr’s *Phil. of Change*, p. 26.

² ‘Dukkhasacce sakkāyapariyāpannā ajjhaddadhammā eva ariyasaccam nāma.’ Ledi’s *Paramatthadīpanī* p. 325. Cf. also ‘Attano attano attabhāvapariyāpannā tebhūmakadhammā’ va attano ekantadukkhā nāma.’ *Op. cit.*, p. 329.

³ *Pariññā* is usually rendered by ‘comprehension.’ It is knowing by discrimination, separation, complete cutting off (*parichijja jānāti*). Our personality must be discriminated from other personalities and craving must be separated from it and placed in the category of cause to be removed.

⁴ This sounds Bergsonian. But cf. ‘...he contemplates by way of duration, continuity or moments.’ The *Compdn.*, p. 213.

⁵ *Samanupassati*. *Sam*—well + *anu*—after + *passati*—views.

⁶ According to Bergson, unless reality be *followed* in its generation and its growth, no true evolutionism would be reached. See p. xiv, Introduction to *Crea. Evol.*

(9) something to which to be philosophically indifferent, i. e. something by which not to be moved through fear or favour or through fear of blame or love of praise¹

to (10) the intellectual stage of qualification for intuition.

The dual stage of philosophical equanimity and intellectual qualification is termed in Buddhism 'Insight leading to intuition,' because philosophical calmness fits him for acquiring knowledge for the sake of knowledge. When an aspirant for Ariyanship reaches the climax of this mature stage, he is inspired with a thought—'Now will the intuition arise.'²

The transitional stage of (a) preparation for, (b) approximation to, (c) adaption for, the intuition now supervenes before it is succeeded by (d) the stage of adoption in which the candidate is initiated into the mysteries of Ariyanship by Nibbana dawning upon him. The initiate is now inspired with the thought: 'I shall know the Unknown.'³ The Unknown here is not the Unknowledge but the reality that has not been known hitherto. Finally, he penetrates his personality by intuition. The intuitive flash, occupying but for a rare moment, 'introduces us into life's own domain' to use a Bergsonian phrase, and reveals the interior of the personality as without an abiding entity (anatta). In this brief Buddhist account of the creative evolution of intuition, purified and glorified instinct of Bergson, we see that it has received an impulse from normal intellect which it transcends.⁴

The winner now abides in the fruit of his intuition for two or three moments before normal intellect returns to 'review' the intuition that has just

¹ Saṅkhārānaṃ vipatti-sampattiye nissāya yathākkamaṃ bhāgavandīnaṃ abhāvena majjhataṭṭa. P. 300, Pye's combnd. ed. of *Tikāgyaw and Maṇisara*. Cf. 'But it must be remembered that the normal work of the intellect is far from being disinterested. We do not aim generally at knowledge for the sake of knowledge, but in order to take sides, to draw profit—in short, to satisfy an interest. We inquire up to what point we seek to know is *this* or *that*, to what known class it belongs and what kind of action, bearing or attitude it should suggest to us.' Berg. *Intro. to Metaph.*, p. 35. On the philosophical habit of mind, cf. 'In order to become a scientific philosopher, a certain peculiar mental discipline is required. There must be present, first of all, the desire to know the truth,.... it is not often found even among philosophers. No doubt it is commoner to wish to arrive at an agreeable result than to wish to arrive at a true result.' Russell's *Low. Lec.*, pp. 237, 238. Also cf. 'In philosophy, hitherto, ethical neutrality has been seldom sought and hardly ever achieved.... In thought at any rate those who forget good and evil and seek only to know the facts are more likely to achieve good than those who view the world through the distorting medium of their own desires.' *Op. cit.*, pp. 27, 28. Buddhists illustrate this attitude by a man who first loves his wife, next hates her and then becomes indifferent to her when he understands her truly. We are told by Matthew Arnold that even Professor Dowden admits 'that the real Miss Hitchener was not seen by Shelley, either when he adored or when he detested.'

² Intuition here is expressed by 'appanā.' It is 'the sinking of the mind into the inside of an object.' The *Compnd.*, p. 129, n. 1. It is the penetration into the inwardness of the object, while normal intellect is but thrown on to the surface. Appanā is like a solid body which sinks to the bottom of water and normal intellect is like a hollow case buoyed up to the surface. Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 57.

Cf. 'It (i. e., intellect) goes all round life taking from outside the greatest possible number of views of it, drawing it into itself instead of entering into it. But it is to the very inwardness of life that intuition leads us,—by intuition I mean instinct that has become disinterested, self-conscious,....' *Crea. Evol.*, p. 186.

³ Anamatagge saṃsāre anaññātaṃ amataṃ padaṃ, catusaccadhamme'va vā ñassāmīti evaṃ ajjhāsayena paṭipannassa indriyaṃ anaññātāññasāmīti'indriyaṃ. Pye's *Tikāgyaw*, p. 191.

⁴ Cf. 'But though it (i. e., intuition) thereby transcends intelligence, it is from the intelligence that has come the push that has made it rise to the point it has reached. Without intelligence, it would have remained in the form of instinct rivetted to the special object of its practical interest,....' *Crea. Evol.*, p. 187.

passed.¹ That is, he reviews either (a) the act of intuition itself, (b) the fruit thereof, (c) Nibbana intuited, (d) the corruptions already put away, or (e) those corruptions as yet to be got rid of, by the three next higher stages of intuition.²

(d) *Intuition.*

The *Kathāvatthu* opens with the 'gettability as closely as possible' of the real. And Buddhaghosa explained 'gettability' by 'knowing.' This is effected by understanding approaching the reality.³ Naturally, the best position that understanding can take up is inside the object with which it identifies itself by a soft of intellectual sympathy, as Bergson says.⁴ When understanding penetrates an object in this way, it is no longer intelligence but intuition.⁵

The penetration into our personality by intuition is a comparatively simple act, occupying but a moment as already observed. It is not divisible into separate insights into four distinct Ariyan facts.⁶ It is described in the *Kathāvatthu* and other books as instantaneous penetration (ekābhisamaya).⁷ By this we mean that the fourfold function of intuition is accomplished simultaneously by a momentary flash, or by a stroke of genius as Russell would say.⁸ This finishing stroke is illustrated in Buddhist books by more than one figure:—

Intuition is compared to the movement of a boat carrying personality across a stream. Imagine the act of crossing as consisting of leaving one bank and reaching the other simultaneously. Here the bank left behind represents the ill that has ceased; the stream crossed, the craving that is cut

¹ Cf. 'Now our intellect does undoubtedly grasp the real moments of real duration after they are past; we do so by reconstituting the new state of consciousness out of a series of views taken of it from the outside....' *Crea. Evol.*, p. 211. The italics are ours.

² We have four principal degrees of Ariyanship culminating in Arahantship. Intuition in each degree is momentary. No sooner it occurs than it passes into its fruition of that degree. Therefore a person, strictly speaking, is permitted only four rare moments of intuition in his evolution. Cf. 'Rare, indeed, are the moments when we are self-possessed to this extent; it is then that our actions are truly free. Even at these moments we do not completely possess ourselves. Our feeling of duration, I should say the actual coinciding of our self with itself, admits of degrees. But the more the feeling is deep and the coincidence complete, the more the life in which it replaces us absorbs intellectuality by transcending it.' *Op. cit. loc. cit.*

³ Upalabbhatīti paññāya upagantvā labbhati; ñāyatīti attho. P. 8, *J. P. T. S.*, 1889 Cf. 'But a true empiricism is that which proposes to get as near to the original itself as possible, to search deeply into the life, and so by a kind of *intellectual auscultation*, to feel the throbbings of its soul; and this empiricism is the true metaphysics.' *Intro. to Metaph.*, p. 31.

⁴ 'By intuition is meant the kind of intellectual sympathy by which one places oneself within an object in order to coincide with what is unique in it and consequently inexpressible.' *Op. cit.*, p. 6.

⁵ Cf. 'Intuition is instinct, sympathy, an apprehension of reality from within.' Carr's *Phil. of Change*, p. 163. Intuition, according to Buddhism, understands the real without the intervention of concepts. Cf. 'Intuition, then, is a direct apprehension of reality which is non-intellectual and non-intellectual means that it is neither a perception, nor a conception, nor an object of reason, all of which are intellectual forms, or....intellectual views, of reality.' *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

⁶ See *Pts. of Controv.*, p. 132.

⁷ Cf. '....if we turn back suddenly upon the impulse, and try to seize it, it is gone; for it is not a thing but a direction of movement....it is infinitely simple. The metaphysical intuition seems to be something of the same kind.' *Intro. to Metaph.*, p. 7.

⁸ Cf. '....when everything has been done that can be done by method, a stage is reached when only direct philosophic vision can carry matters further. Here only genius will prevail.' Russell's *Low. Lec.*, p. 241.

off; and the opposite bank reached, Nibbana—the cessation of ills. This illustration has the advantage of showing the moving nature of the reality. The stationary banks are as stationary points in space. We have pointed out in Part I, that space is empty and void, without objective reality. Therefore, the banks themselves are not real; it is the moving boat at each of these positions that is real. Hence the ill that has ceased is no longer real and Nibbana not yet reached is not yet real either.¹ This follows from the fact that reality is confined to the present moment, as observed before.

Another illustration is that of a lamp which dispels darkness at the same time as it gives out light. Suppose that the lamp goes out simultaneously with a flash after it has burnt its wick out and exhausted the oil. Here the wick burnt out represents the ill that has ceased; the darkness dispelled, the craving put away; the light that dispels the darkness and shows itself as well as the flame burning out the wick, the intuition; and the blowing out of the lamp on the exhaustion of the oil, etc., Nibbāna—the cessation of ills. This figure has the advantage of showing the nature of the intuition which reveals the reality. For this reason, intuition is also compared to the Sun² which lights up everything. Through a process of creative evolution, it comes into existence like the fire that is produced by the friction of the two pieces of wood or bamboo representing mind and matter.—The fire reveals itself as well as the nature of the two stuffs of life, consumes both and itself goes out when the combustible matter has been consumed.

Even as we have the contraries in the boat and light illustrations, so we have thesis and antithesis,³ indefinitely combined in what Bergson has aptly called *integral experience* of the reality—our own personality—as a simple indivisible whole:—

Thesis: Reality is conditioned.

Antithesis: Reality is unconditioned.

The reality penetrated by intuition is absolute. That is to say, it is 'released' from all relations at the moment of intuition. At this moment, then, conditioned reality, namely personality, becomes unconditioned reality. And unconditioned reality is Nibbana.

Now, consciousness is ordinarily understood as a relation between subject and object. But there is no conscious subject behind consciousness and

¹ Cf. 'If it were past and gone, or not yet, you could not think of it, for you cannot think of what does not exist.' Mrs. Rhys Davids' *Buddhism*, p. 84. It would be more correct to say that we can merely think of it but cannot truly understand it.

² See the *Visuddhimagga*. Also p. 301, Vol. III, Pye's combined ed. of *Tikāyāw and Mañisāra*. Buddhism always looks upon consciousness as a light (*Idaṃ cittaṃ pabhassaraṃ*). This, together with its comparison of the intuition to the Sun, reminds us again of Bergson who compares our intellect to a flame which lights up the coming and going of living beings in a narrow passage—a lantern glimmering in a tunnel, or as we Buddhists would say, a firefly which lights up the inside of a bamboo—and compares intuition to a Sun which can illuminate the world. P. xi, Introduction to *Crea. Evol.* Also cf. 'These fleeting intuitions, which light up their object only at distant intervals, philosophy ought to seize, first to sustain them, then to expand them, and so unite them together.' *Op. cit.*, p. 282.

³ Cf. 'But from the object seized by intuition, we pass easily in many cases to the two contrary concepts; and as in that way thesis and antithesis can be seen to spring from reality, we grasp at the same time that the two are opposed and now they are reconciled.' *Intro. to Metaph.*, p. 34. Cf. also 'I could never imagine how black and white interpenetrate if I had never seen grey; but once I have seen grey, I easily understand how it can be considered from two points of view, that of white and that of black.' *Op. cit.*, p. 75.

there can be no relation whatsoever with a single term. Moreover, object, being part and parcel of consciousness, is inseparable from consciousness. Hence consciousness-of-an-object is an indivisible unit.¹ This unit of consciousness at any given moment is shown in the *Kathāvatthu*² as incapable of being conscious of itself. That is, it cannot be given as subject and object at the same time. Self-consciousness, as usually understood, is therefore impossible. This is true of normal, nay supernormal, consciousness; for self-introspection is really self-retrospection or, in the Bergsonian language, our intellect always 'turns to the rear and looks behind.' What is posited in the phenomenon of self-consciousness as object is never the present self but the past self which has gone and is therefore no longer real.³

Intuition transcends both normal and supernormal consciousness. It is unique because it has Nibbana for its object. The object here is the real and is therefore existing. Both the subject and the object are given at the same time. The object is not something outside our system, external to our personality. It is identified with our very personality freed or released from conditions. Witness the Nibbana of an Arahant with his purged residua of the stuff of life, the stuff of reality, before final passing away.

Intuition is, therefore, in direct and immediate contact⁴ with the real. It is consciousness in which the subject and the object are completely merged into one or in which, to borrow from Bergson, self coincides with self. In this identification of self with self, we instal ourselves right within becoming. That is to say, the real is *lived* rather than *thought*, as already remarked in Part I. In other words, it is realised.

We have observed before that moments of intuition are rare. But the enjoyment of integral experience may be prolonged at will by an Ariyan 'established in its fruit' (Phalaṭṭhāno). This unique experience is inexpressible by solidifying language and the fluid real cannot be adequately represented by stable and static concepts even as, to borrow once more from Bergson, 'the flowing water beneath cannot be described by means of a system of fixed bridges thrown across a stream.'

Personality is now detached from the idea 'ego' and the idea of 'no soul' (anatta) is realised. And if an Ariyan now uses the term 'I,' as he 'calls the grains powder,' he no longer abuses the term. He merely uses it as a label to effect economy in speech and thought, but does not look for the corresponding thing or ego behind that word.⁵ In short, he does not exceed the legitimate scope of terms and concepts.⁶ He finds the word 'soul' empty

¹ Cf. 'The important thing is, then that the relation we call knowledge supposes two things, and the discernment of one by the other and knowledge does not suppose one thing different from both....' Carr's *Phil. of Change*, p. 102.

² P. 183, *Pts. of Controv.*

³ Cf. '....we are not aware of it immediately while it is functioning, but reflectively in explaining to ourselves the function of the brain as an object independent of our consciousness.' Carr's *Phil. of Change*, p. 49.

⁴ Sacchikaroti—'to be face to face.'

⁵ Cf. 'At the most he may put the label 'ego' on these states....; it is only a word, and the great error here lies in believing....we can find behind the word a thing.' *Intro. to Metaph.*, p. 26. On ego as an artificial bond threading the psychic states as independent entities, like the beads of a necklace, see *Crea. Evol.*, pp. 3, 4.

⁶ Ledi, p. 125, *J. P. T. S.*, 1913-14.

of its content. In the Bergsonian phraseology, he no longer 'fills a void and goes from the empty to the full'; he does not 'make use of the void in order to think the full';¹ the full is no longer an embroidery on the canvas of nothing.² All this is spoken of in Buddhism as 'Emancipation from Soul.'³

A person who is thus liberated is no longer subject to hallucinations of perception, ideas and views regarding change. He no longer mistakes change for permanence.⁴ Again in the Bergsonian language, he no longer 'starts from immobility, as if this were the ultimate reality.'⁵ It cannot be said of him that of becoming he perceives only states and of duration, only instants.⁶ In fact, he no longer 'thinks the moving by means of the movable'⁷ and does not 'in vain seek beneath the change the thing which changes.'⁸ His perception will no longer 'solidify into discontinuous images of the fluid continuity of the real.'⁹ In short, the mind no longer takes 'the stable views of the unstability.'¹⁰ All this, and more, is summed up in Buddhism as 'Emancipation from Illusion.'¹¹

A person who is thus freed becomes disinterested and renouncing his most cherished passions, gives up the craving. In the words of Bergson, intuitive knowledge 'would have called upon the mind to renounce its most cherished habits.'¹² This is described in Buddhism as 'Emancipation from Desire.'

We have already observed that the reality penetrated by intuition is inexpressible by symbols—concepts and language.¹³ And we may now well understand why the Buddha at first hesitated to enlighten others. He was, however, persuaded to attempt the task. For this purpose, he divided his hearers into four classes of individuals:—

(a) Padaparama class of persons to whom 'the language is the measure of knowledge;'

(b) Nēyya class of persons who 'may be led to knowledge by logic, inductive and deductive reasoning, arguments and inference from examples and analogies and representations by figures and images;'

(c) Vibhajjitaññū class of persons who 'are capable of understanding the philosophy by analysis;'

(d) Ugghāṭitaññū class of persons who 'are capable of penetrating the real by revelation in intuition;'

From this classification we may see that concrete images have an advantage over abstract concepts and that intuition is placed by the Buddha above analysis.

¹ *Crea. Evol.*, pp. 288, 289.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 291.

³ *Compnd.*, p. 216.

⁴ *Compnd.*, p. 216.

⁵ *Crea. Evol.*, p. 163.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 288.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 315.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 317.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 319.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 320.

¹¹ *Compnd.*, p. 216.

¹² *Crea. Evol.*, p. 362.

¹³ Cf. 'The history of philosophy...shows us the eternal conflict of systems, the impossibility of satisfactorily getting the real into the ready-made garments of our ready-made concepts,....' *Crea. Evol.*, p. 51.

Bergson, too, does not stop at his intuition. He defines¹ intuition 'as insinct capable of *reflecting* upon its object and enlarging it indefinitely.' In this self-inconsistent definition, Bergson's intuition overlaps intellect. And whether it enlarges its object from the actual any to the potential many or from the different rills of life to his 'great river of life,' he oversteps himself into the province of concepts.

Again, both according to Buddhism, as we have seen, and according to Bergsonism, our own personality intuited serves as a model² for the rest of personalities in the universe. This is the domain of logic, since it is inference drawn from a comparison of other personalities with a specimen. In matters of conventional truths dealing with concepts, inductive method of reasoning, to be valid, demands the greatest number of particular truths to arrive at general propositions. But in matters of philosophical truths dealing with realities, a single, reliable, infallible instance may suffice to establish the highest generalisation,³ such as the most universal Buddhist proposition—'All realities, conditioned and unconditioned, are soulless' (*Sabbe dhammā anattā*), just as the presence of sea may be inferred from the taste of a drop of sea water.⁴

Thus far the Bergsonian side of the shield with Russellian fringes. In the next issue we shall reverse the shield and present the Russellian face with Bergsonian fringes.

SHWE ZAN AUNG.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 186.

² *Cf.* 'The consciousness we have of our own self in its continual flux introduces us to the interior of a reality, on the model of which we must represent other realities.' *Intro. to Metaph.*, pp. 55, 56.

³ Bergson is inconsistent with his views of true evolutionism, with his own position and stand-point when he defines philosophy as 'the study of becoming in general' (*Crea. Evol.*, p. 391) which, in his own words, is not the becoming of any particular thing.

⁴ *Pts. of Controv.*, n. i. p. 132.

SHIN UTTAMAGYAW AND HIS TAWLA, A NATURE-POEM—I.

The latter half of the 15th century A. D. marks a period of literary activity in the history of Burmese poetry. It is memorable for four conspicuous figures, to wit, Shin Silavaṃsa of Taungdwin, Shin Uttamagyaw of Pôndawbyi, Shin Rāṭhasāra of Ava and Shin Aggasamādhī of Tabayin. All four were in orders and their poetry is imbued with a deep religious spirit. This is no matter for surprise. It is but natural that the monastery close should shed its sacred influence on its inmates. The second of this brilliant quartette is remembered for his solitary poetical performance entitled "Tawla." Before we discuss the poem, it is best to introduce the man to our readers. Owing to a lamentable dearth of material for our purpose, only a brief sketch of his life is possible.

He was a native of Pôndawbyi Village near the town of Myolalin in the Taungdwingyi Subdivision, Magwe District. The exact date of his birth cannot be known. But we know for a fact that he was junior to Shin Silavaṃsa but senior to Shin Rāṭhasāra. He was therefore born somewhere between 815 B. E. (1453 A. D.) and 830 B. E. (1468 A. D.)—the years in which those two monks came into this world.

He received his early education at the monastic school, Taungdwin, to which he was admitted on the same day as Shin Silavaṃsa. The Superior of the institution was Tupāyôn *Sayadaw* from whom we incidentally learn that Shin Silavaṃsa was the senior of the two. Their names as laymen were respectively Maung Nyo and Maung Ye.

It is said that on the day of their admittance, the *Sayadaw* read their faces and foretold their future career. He predicted that both would remain as monks for a considerable time, that the elder would be famed for his learning and be honoured by the King, that the younger would receive royal recognition only at times though he also would achieve vast scholarship. Curiously enough, this prophecy which sunk into the ears of the two boys, came true in every particular.

In due time, they received holy orders and were styled Shin Silavaṃsa and Shin Uttamagyaw respectively as monks. Shin Silavaṃsa took to writing poetry and composed the far-famed *Pāramīdawgan Linga* or *Pyo*. The *Sayadaw* considered it a profanation in an ecclesiastic to dabble in poetry and forced the monk with a poetic turn to leave the monastery at Taungdwin. So the outcast monk left for Ava. There the King held him in high reverence and built for him a grand monastery which was named Yatanapeik-hman. His companion Shin Uttamagyaw however remained at the Taungdwin monastery until the lapse of twenty years of monkhood. Then he left for Ava where the royal ministers provided for him a separate monastery. Although he did not attain anything like the distinction of his friend, he was invited to the palace for consultation on important occasions which demanded a profound knowledge of the *Tipiṭakas* or the Buddhist Scriptures.

Now, all these events took place during the days of the Second Mingauug who ascended the throne of Ava in 842 B. E. (1430 A. D.)

While he was at Taungdwin, Shin Uttamagyaw would not be deterred from writing poetry for all the objection of the *Sayadaw* and composed his *Tawla*. The probability is that he found his poetic gift too strong to be kept under a bushel. He composed only one poem and beyond question it is a masterpiece. There are in all nine verses. Despite its brevity, in pure dignity of diction, it is a match for almost any poem of his contemporaries; while in sheer artistry of words, it excels all other poems on the same subject.

Its distinctive feature is its spiritualization of nature. It paints in burning colours a series of pen-portraits in which the whole universe—animate and inanimate—is represented as rendering due homage to the *Tathâgata* or Buddha.

The striking use of “လ” will be observed even by the most casual reader. It is peculiarly the poet’s own. The last foot of each verse is made up of seven syllables and “လ” always forms the fifth syllable. For instance the first verse concludes with သီးမျိုး ခိုင်ညှာ လပြတ်တည်း။ To the layman this sounds objectionable and superfluous. But a close study will enable one to grasp the poet’s masterly handling of the letter “လ.”

A similar use of “လ” is seen in expressions such as အမောင်ဆည်း ပူးနိုင်စေလသေး။ ။ထိပ်ခေါင်အဖျား တိုင်စေလသေး။ which occur in Shin Silavamsa’s *Pâramîdawgan Linga*. There, “လ” is connected with a final consonant သ် and လသေး therefore stands for လသ်သေး or လတ်သေး as in လတ္တံ့, which is the short for လတ်တံ့။ When pronounced quickly it reads ill and conveys a loathsome meaning. It is possible and probable that Shin Uttamagyaw carried the use of “လ” to greater lengths in order to burlesque the infelicitous employment of လသေး by Shin Silavamsa. It is however clear that by a play of the letter “လ” the poet adds emphasis to his meaning. Thus သီးမျိုးခိုင်ညှာလပြတ်တည်း။ has the same force as သီးမျိုးခိုင်ညှာလပြတ်တည်း။

This explanation, by the way, lends colour to the view held by some that *Tawla* was written after Shin Raṭhasâra had composed his nature-poem describing his journey to the Shwe Zettaw Shrine, Minbu, through a beautifully wooded region. The reason is this: that in the poem Shin Raṭhasâra doubles the fifth syllable of the final foot of his verse in the manner indicated above. We therefore find his verses ending with expressions such as these:—မဂ်ခိုင် နိဗ္ဗာန်စူးစူးတည်း။ ။တောကြက်တွန်သံမြူးမြူးတည်း။ Be that as it may, Shin Uttamagyaw deserves praise for his skilful use of “လ”.

The present poem is so difficult of comprehension that we may put it in the same category as the two poems in regard to which a saying goes:—ဝါရီကိုလည်းမသိနှင့်။ ဘုံခန်းကိုလည်းမစမ်းနှင့်။ (Think not to read *Pâramîgan*; attempt not to study *Bôngan*). We have already mentioned that *Pâramîdawgan Linga* was composed by Shin Silavamsa. It is a religious poem written in praise of the virtues of Gotama Buddha and it contains abstruse thoughts and deep religious reflections. *Bôngan Pyo* runs it very close in difficulty. Shin Agga Samādhi of Tabayin in the Shwebo District is its author. He was born in 841 B. E. (1479 A. D.) and was much Shin Uttamagyaw’s junior. His poem gives a descriptive account of the aerial journey of the embryo Buddha

Nemi, King of Midila, India, to the Tâvatimsâ heaven. The journey was made at the invitation of Sakra, King of Tâvatimsâ who having heard the piety and virtue of King Nemi sent his charioteer Matali with a magnificent chariot drawn by one thousand winged horses. The poem also describes the various scenes at the celestial abode in a vivid but highly exaggerated manner. How far the extravagance of language goes may be seen from the following saying:—တုံခန်းလည်းမြောက်လွန်း၊ ငရဲခန်းလည်းမြောက်လွန်း။ (There is too much exaggeration in *Bôngan* and too much frightfulness in *Ngayègan*.) *Ngayègan* is a poem by the same author. It gives a fearful description of Hell. *Tawla* on the other hand, taxes our intellect because it deals with the mysterious aspect of the picturesque in nature. It is no wonder that this poem as well as *Pâramîdawgan* and *Bôngan* should prove too tough for the untutored mind.

When Shin Uttamagyaw wrote his *Tawla*, Shin Silavamsa and Shin Raṭhasâra had already produced their masterpieces. It was written to make known his poetic powers. It is the product of egotism. In the last verse he makes it no secret that he considers himself superior to his two co-temporaries alike in sanctity of life and literary power.

The poem appears to be remotely based on the sixty Pâli Stanzas uttered by Shin Kâludâyi when he begged Buddha to proceed from Râjagaha to His father's palace at Kapilavatthu. These stanzas dwell on the suitableness of the season for a journey. In the 17th century Shin Ôn Nyo of Taungdwin wrote his *Gatâ Chauksè Pyo* which gives the same sixty stanzas in Burmese verse.

In spite of its apparent debt, the ideas contained in *Tawla* are new. As a poem it has great merits. But it lacks method in the adjustment of its different parts. Its obscurity is accounted for partly by this defect and partly by the vicious nature of the extant text.

The text of which the first verse is printed here with copious notes is taken from a very old manuscript. A free translation in English by Maung Ba Han, M. A., Myoôk and Assistant Government Translator, Burma Secretariat, is appended. It is intended to publish the remaining verses one at a time in a similar manner.

Before attempting to furnish the reader with explanatory notes on certain words, phrases and expressions occurring in the poem, it would be expedient first of all to enter into a discussion regarding the true purport of its title.

The expression *Tawla* literally means "a journey through the forest" in the same way as *Yela* means "a journey by water." It is generally understood to be a descriptive account of a journey through the jungle, the different scenes being viewed in a poetic mood. But in our poem the aspects of the different seasons in which the journey is undertaken are also described. For this reason the title has been objected to by some as misleading. The objection holds only if *Tawla* is taken in its strictest sense. But the expression can be used with a broader and more comprehensive meaning. In its broadest sense country life is contradistinguished from town life.

The first verse opens with an animating scene at the time of the *Thingyan* festival in mid-Summer. So it begins thus:—စက်ဆယ်နှစ်လီးဒွါဒိဝယ်။ . . .

ကုန်စွမ်းပြသော်။ “The twelve signs of the zodiac which appear in the three seasons are going their (daily) round all tending towards that spot known as “Let” (လတ်). Now, that part of the Summer season, the serene month of the pleasant *Ratu* (ရာတု) has come. It is accompanied by breezy whirling winds as it is the time for *Ta-Thingyan* (တာသင်းကြိမ်), the summer festival. The Sun shining with his ten thousand rays has also taken up his new abode. He thus asserts his authority by exhibiting his full strength and giving forth heat to his extreme intensity.” The expression စက်ဆယ်နှစ်လီၤခွါဒသီဝယ်ၤ refers to the zodiac which is divided (as in Europe) into twelve signs (*Râthî*—ရာသီ). Again each *râthî* is divided into 30 degrees (*anthâ*—အံသာ), each degree into 60 minutes (*leiktâ*—လိတ္တာ) and each minute into 60 seconds. The names of the signs are:—

Meiktha (မိဿ)	Aries.
Pyeiktha (ပွဲဿ)	Taurus.
Medôn (မေထုန်)	Gemini.
Karakat (ကြကဏ်)	Cancer.
Thein (သိတ်)	Leo.
Kan (ကန်)	Virgo.
Tu (တု)	Libra.
Byeiksâ (ဖြဲခွာ)	Scorpio.
Dhanu (ဇန)	Sagittarius.
Makâra (မကာရ)	Capricornus.
Kôn (ကုန်)	Aquarius.
Mein (မိန်)	Pisces.

Besides these twelve signs, the zodiac is also divided into 27 constellations or *nakkats* (နက္ခတ်)—the *nakshatras* of the Hindus. They are:—

1. Asavanî	(အသဝဏီ).
2. Baranî	(ဘရဏီ).
3. Kyattikâ	(ကျတ္တိကာ).
4. Rohanî	(ရောဟနီ).
5. Migasî	(မိဂသီ).
6. Bhadra	(ဘဒြ).
7. Punnaphusshu	(ပုဏ္ဏပုဗ္ဗ).
8. Phussha	(ဖုဗ္ဗ).
9. Assalissa	(အသလိဿ).
10. Mâgha	(မာဃ).

11. Pyubbâparagunni	(မြို့ဥပရဂုဏီ).
12. Uttarâparagunni	(ဥတ္တရာပရဂုဏီ).
13. Hassada	(ဟဿဒ).
14. Cittra	(စိတြ).
15. Swâdi	(သွာဒိ).
16. Visâkhâ	(ဝိသာခါ).
17. Anurâda	(အနုရာဒ).
18. Jettâ	(ဇေဋ္ဌ).
19. Mûla	(မူလ).
20. Pruppâsan	(ပြုပ္ပါသန).
21. Uttarâsan	(ဥတ္တရာသန).
22. Saravun	(သရဝဏ).
23. Dhanasiddha	(ဧနသိဋ္ဌ).
24. Sattabhissha	(သတ္တဘိဿ).
25. Pyuppâbadrapaik	(ပြုပ္ပါမဒြပ်).
26. Uttarâbadrapaik	(ဥတ္တရာမဒြပ်).
27. Revatî	(ရေဝတီ).

The amount of celestial longitude covered by each *nakshatra* (constellation) is $13^{\circ}20'$ which is equivalent to 4 *nawins* or *pats*, a *nawin* or *pat* being one ninth part of a *râthî*. There are therefore 9 *nawins* in each *râthî* or 108 *nawins* in the zodiacal circle or celestial longitude. The 27 *nakshatras* (constellations) are arranged and distributed in the 12 *râthîs* (signs) thus:—

Meiktha (Aries).....Asavanî (4 *pats*), Baranî (4 *pats*)
and Kyattikâ (1 *pat*).

Pyeiktha (Taurus).....Kyattikâ (3 *pats*), Rohanî (4 *pats*)
and Migasî (2 *pats*).

Medôn (Gemini).....Migasî (2 *pats*), Bhadra (4 *pats*) and
Punnaphusshu (3 *pats*).

Karakat (Cancer).....Punnaphusshu (1 *pat*), Phussha (4
pats) and Assalissa (4 *pats*).

Thein (Leo).....Mâgha (4 *pats*), Pyubbâparagunni
(4 *pats*) and Uttaraparagunni (1
pat).

Kan (Virgo).....Uttara-paragunni (3 *pats*), Hassada
(4 *pats*) and Cittra (2 *pats*).

- Tu (Libra).....Citra (2 *pats*), Swâdi (4 *pats*) and
Visâkhâ (3 *pats*).
- Byeiksâ (Scorpio).....Visâkhâ (1 *pat*), Anurâda (4 *pats*)
and Jettha (4 *pats*).
- Dhanu (Sagittarius).....Mûla (4 *pats*), Pyuppâsan (4 *pats*)
and Uttarâsan (1 *pat*).
- Makâra (Capricornus).....Uttarâsan (3 *pats*), Saravun (4 *pats*)
and Dhanasiddha (2 *pats*).
- Kôn (Aquarius).....Dhanasiddha (2 *pats*), Sattabhissha
(4 *pats*) and Pyuppa-badrapaik (3
pats).
- Mein (Pisces).....Pyuppa-badrapaik (1 *pat*), Uttara-
badrapaik (4 *pats*) and Revatî (4
pats).

In the Burmese System of Astronomy these *nakshatras* (constellations) as well as the Sun are said to be daily moving clockwise round Mount Meru. In fact, the Zodiac moves faster than the sun, each sign (*râthi*) overtaking and passing it over once in every year and accordingly forming the twelve months which correspond with the 12 signs thus:—

- | | | | |
|-------------------|------------|------------------|-------------|
| 1. Meitha | Tagu. | 7. Tu | Thadingyut. |
| 2. Pyeiktha | Kasôn. | 8. Byeiksa | Tazaungmôn. |
| 3. Medôn | Nayôn. | 9. Dhanu | Nadaw. |
| 4. Karakat | Wazo. | 10. Makâra | Pyatho. |
| 5. Thein | Wagaung. | 11. Kôn .. | Tabodwè. |
| 6. Kan | Tawthalin. | 12. Mein | Tabaung. |

In Tagu when the Sun is overtaken by Aries (၉၁၁) it is said to enter that sign and the *Thingyan* is said to take place.

ဝဲ from the Pâli *ogga* means a circle or a wheel.

ဆယ့်နှစ်လကြိမ်သိ.....This is a combination of the Burmese ဆယ့်နှစ်လီ (“twelve times” or simply “twelve”) with the Pâli ခုကြိမ် which has the same meaning. In poetry such a combination is very common. ခုကြိမ် here stands for ခုကြိမ် the last letter ဝ changing into သိ for rhythmical purposes. It is an instance of poetical license indulged in by the poet.

သုံးလီဥတု means the three seasons. In Burma there are only three seasons, the wet season, (မိုးဥတု) the cold season, (ဆောင်းဥတု) and the dry season (ရှေ့ဥတု). Their Pâli names are respectively “vassâna” or “vasanta,” “hemanta” and “gimhâna.” Each season consists of four months. The period between the first waning of Wazo (July) and the full moon of Tazaungmôn (November) is called the wet season or the rains. The cold season begins from the first waning of Tazaungmôn (November) and ends

on the full moon day of Tabaung (March) ; and the dry season extends from the first waning of Tabaung (March) to the full moon of Wazo (July).

၁၀၀ is that spot where the sun is at its meridian in the Eastern heavens due East of Mount Meru. According to a system of Horary Astrology of the West it is a fixed point and has no motion of itself. It is termed "the part of fortune." In the Burmese system both of Astrology and Astronomy it is fixed only so far as its direction with regard to Mount Meru is concerned; that is it is always due East. Otherwise it is daily shifting not only forward and backward but also vertically downwards and upwards according as the sun moves away from Mount Meru descending to the South or returns towards the same ascending to the North.

There are three paths by which the sun moves round Mount Meru—the interior (အနွှေဝိဝေ), the middle (မနွှေဝိဝေ) and the exterior (ဗာဟိရဝိဝေ). Its journey from the innermost point of the interior path commences in Karakat (Cancer) and it takes six months to reach the remotest point of the exterior path, in Makâra (Sagittarius). This period begins from the full moon of Wazo (June—July) and ends in the full moon of Pyatho (December—January) and the sun is then said to be descending southward (ဆိတ္တိတယံ). During the remaining six months that is from the first waning of Pyatho (December—January) to the full moon of Wazo (June—July) the sun returns to its starting-point, and it is then said to be ascending Northward (ဥတ္တရတယံ).

From this it is evident that the course of the sun is somewhat like the thread of a screw. It will be seen later on that owing to such a movement days and nights etc. are formed. The length of day and night in each month however is determined by the time which each sign of the zodiac takes to pass over "let."

As explained above, during Wazo (June—July) the sun while in Karakat (Cancer) goes its round at the innermost point and begins to move outward with the fourth *pat* of Purnaphusshu (ပုဏ္ဏပုဏ္ဏသီဟ). When it is at the meridian at the East Great Island Prubbavideha (ပြုဗ္ဗဝိဒေဟ), it is sun-rise in our Jambudipa (ဧဗ္ဗိသိပါ) the South Great Island, midnight in Aparagoya (အပါရဂေါယ) the West Great Island, and sunset in Uttaraguru (ဥတ္တရဂူ) the North Great Island. Five *nayis* (နာရီ) later, Karakat (Cancer) moves away from "let" and the cusp or the first point of Thein (Leo) arrives at the spot; and 6 *nayis* after, Thein (Leo) passes on and the cusp of Kan (Virgo) touches the spot. After a lapse of 7 *nayis*, Kan leaves it entirely and the cusp of Tu (Libra) reaches it. The sun with the fourth *pat* of Nakshatra Purnaphusshu in Karakat (Cancer) is then at its meridian in our Jambudipa and the number of *nayis* that elapsed between sunrise and mid-days is (5+6+7) or 18. Again after intervals of 7, 6 and 5 *nayis* respectively, Tu (Libra), Byeiksa (Scorpio) and Dhanu (Sagittarius) pass on in succession and the cusp of Makâra (Capricornus) comes in contact with *let*. It is then mid-day in Aparagoya the sun being at its zenith there and sunset in our Jambudipa. The interval between midday and sunset is (7+6+5) or 18 *nayis*, and that between sunrise and sunset, that is the length of day is therefore 36 *nayis*. Day is longest then. After intervals of 3, 4 and 5 *nayis* respectively after

sunset in our Jambûdipa Makâra (Capricornus), Kôn (Asquarius) and Mein (Pisces) pass on successively from "let" and Meiktha arrives at it. It is then noon at Uttaraguru and midnight in our Jambudipa and the time lapsed from sunset to midnight is (3+4+5) or 12 *nayis*. Again, after intervals of 5, 4 and 3 respectively, Meiktha (Aries), Pyeiktha (Taurus) and Medôn (Gemini) successively leave the spot and Karakat (Cancer) reaches it. It is then midday in Prubbavideha the sun being again at its zenith there; and it is sunrise in our Jambûdipa. The total number of *nayis* from sunset to sunrise—that is the length of night—is therefore 24. The sun then inclines to the South shortening the days and prolonging the nights by 4 *bizanas* a day or 2 *nayis* a month, until it reaches Tu (Libra) in Thadingyut (October—November) when day and night are each 30 *nayis* in duration. It again increases in declination; and day shortens and night lengthens proportionately until it reaches Makâra (Capricornus) in Pyatho (December—January) when there are 24 *nayis* in one day and 36 in one night. Then we have the shortest day. So days are longest in Wazo (June—July) when the sun is in Karakat (Cancer) and shortest in Pyatho (December—January) when it is in Makâra (Capricornus, the southern tropic). From thence the sun returns to the North and the length of days and nights becomes just the reverse, until it reaches in Tagu (March—April) Meiktha (Aries), the starting-point of the zodiac, where day and night are again equal. After entering Aries the sun continues its course Northward until it again reaches Karakat, the tropic of Cancer in Wazo (June—July).

The common rule is that day is long if the velocity of the signs arriving at "let" during the day is high and it is short when the velocity is low. Another rule is that, day is long when the distance from the innermost point of the interior path to "let" is short and *vice versa*; and so we say long "let" or short "let" according as the distance is great or small.

ဝံ in ဝံဝံဝံ is a locative affix and it means "towards." Some texts read ဝံဝံ and if it is accepted as correct the expression ဝံဝံဝံဝံဝံ may refer to the course of the sun from the exterior to the interior path, that is from right to left.

လှ means "to tend to" or "hurry to"; ဝား is an emphatic form of the assertive affix သည် with a continuative force.

ရာဇု means "subdivision of a season." Each season consists of two *ratus*; there are therefore six *ratus*, namely "neindra" or "vasanta" and "gimha" in summer; "vassana" and "sarada" in the rainy season; and "hema" and "sisira" or "hemanta" in winter.

ရာဇုသာဓက means "the *ratu* is indeed pleasant." ဓ is an assertive affix expressing approval or admission.

လေ့လျော် This refers to the month of Tagu (March—April) when the atmosphere is clear and bright.

လ means month; လျော် (Pâli) means serene, clear or bright; လျော် is a Nominative affix implying contrast.

Several texts have "လေ့လော်" which means "the full-orbed moon." But it appears to convey no meaning with reference to the context.

သဘင် means festival; ဝေဇ် from the Pâli ဝေဇ် means summer.

In တာသင်းကြွန် the word သင်းကြွန် is derived from the Sanscrit and it means "passing over" i. e. the passing of the Sun from Pisces (မိန်) to Aries (မိဿ). The new year begins at the moment the sun enters the sign Aries. But a period extending over two days precedes the new year's day and this seems to be the difference between the mean and the apparent entrances of the Sun into Aries. This period is commonly known as "*Ta-Thingyan*" (တာသင်းကြွန်) because the word တာ or more properly အတာ (task) as connected with *Thingyan* has a fable attached to it. It runs thus:—

A dispute arose between *Sakra* and *Asi*, a *Brahma*—a celestial being of a higher order—regarding some religious questions. The former was of the belief that *Sila* (religious precept) was the noblest of all virtues; while the latter held that *Dāna* (gift) was the most benevolent. They laid the matter before *Kava Lamaing*, a learned *Brahmin* on earth agreeing that the one against whom the decision was made should be beheaded. *Asi* lost the case and accordingly his head was cut off. *Sakra* then found out that the sea would be dried up if that sacred head was thrown into it and that drought would result if it was kept on land. So he made it over to the care of seven goddesses who were made to hold it in the hand by turns for a year each. Thus the goddess who held it for the past year has to hand it over to another goddess at the commencement of each new year but not before it has been washed. Hence the water festival.

When a new year begins it is said to be *ata-tet* (အတာတတ်) which means that the task is over.

ဟု in တာသင်းကြွန်ဟု is here used in a peculiar sense; it should be understood to mean "as being."

ဘုံသစ်ထူသော်။ The reference is to the position of the sun. It changes from Pisces to Aries in Tagu.

ဥဏ္ဍုနတ် is the sun or *Phœbus*. ဥဏ္ဍု is derived from the Pāli ဥဏ္ဍ which means "heat," and နု which means "going or being;" and it therefore literally means "that which causes heat to be going." (Cf. သီတာရု the moon). နု is only used at the end of a compound as in ပါရဂူ (*Pâragû*) which means "one who has crossed to the other side" or "one who is accomplished or well versed." နတ် means "a celestial being." Other Pāli names for the sun are *unñharamsî* (ဥဏ္ဍရံသီ), *bhānumā* (ဘာနုမာ), *ravi* (ရဝိ), *sûriya* (သုရိယ) and *ādicca* (အာဒိစ္စ).

ဖလ်ရဟတ် also refers to the sun. It is so called because the sun is said to be made of gold inside and crystal outside.

ဖလ် (Pāli) means 'crystal'; and ရဟတ် means 'a revolving wheel.' This luminary is known by different names in Burmese such as နေဖလ်ဝါ။ ။ဒေါင်းစကြာ။ ။ဒေါင်းယဉ်သာ။ ။ဒေါင်းဖလ်ဝါ။ ။နေစကြာ။ ။ဖလ်ရဟတ်။ ။နေသူရိန်။ etc. They are commonly used in poetry.

သဟဿရောင်။ ခြည်တထောင်မြင့်။ means "by a thousand rays." သဟဿ (Pāli) and တထောင် are analogous terms both meaning a thousand. ရောင်ခြည် means "rays." This is an instance of the syllables of a word being placed in separate feet. It is allowed only in poetry.

ပြောင်ပြောင်ဝင်းထိန်။ ကုန်စွမ်းပြသော်။ This shows that the sun is hottest in Tagu (April). The poet means to say that the sun exhibits his full strength and asserts his authority by radiating intense heat.

အန္တ (Pāli) means “end or limit.” ပြင်းရှိုင်းအန္တ therefore means “the strongest or the intensest (radiated) heat.”

ကုန်စွမ်းပြသော်။ In plain language we may say အစွမ်းကုန်ပြသော် i. e. “when the full strength or utmost ability is exhibited.”

မြေခလေသက်။ ဖျာန်ဝိတက်သို့။ ချယ်သောပုံသို့။ This refers to the falling of withered, pale and half-dry leaves to the ground.

လေ means “touched by the wind.” မြေသက် means “fall to the ground.”

ဖျာန်ဝိတက်သို့။ The falling of a leaf by the force of the wind is compared to the falling from the sky of a person who is suddenly deprived of his power of flying through the air possessed by the practice of Jhāna. It is a very apt simile; because when a person suddenly loses his power of Jhāna while flying through the air he will not be thrown down precipitously by his own weight but he will fall slowly and gently in the same way as a leaf detached from a tree or plant will float in the air before touching the ground.

ဖျာန် (Pāli ဖျာန) means a certain attainment or state of mind which enables the possessor to fly through the air or to go through the earth. The five constituent parts of Jhāna are ဝိတက္က (thought or design); ဝိစာရ (consideration or reflection); ဝိတိ (pleasure or joy); သုခ (bliss or happiness) and ကေတုတာ (tranquility or abstraction of mind.)

ဝိတက် Pāli ဝိတက္က means thought or design as noted above.

သစ်ရွက်ရောင်ရီ။ means “sere leaves;” ရော် means “to begin to wither or to turn into a pale or sallow colour.”

ရီ means “faint” as နေရီသည်။ (The light of the sun has become faint, that is to say the sun has lost its brightness and has cooled down). Again နေဝင်ရီဟရော။ means “twilight hour or dusk.” Both ရော် and ရီ are here applied to colour.

ဇွနွန်ဝယ်။ သိပ်တဝက်။ means “half brown and half yellow.” ဇွနွန် and သိပ် are Pāli words respectively meaning sapphire and gold.

ဖက်၍ဆေးစုံ။ ချယ်သောပုံသို့။ means “as if painted with variegated colours.”

ရက်မြိုင်တွင်း။ တောလုံးလင်းသား။ means “the whole wood appears bright and resplendent.” The idea is that in the hot season the leaves of plants and trees turn sear representing a yellowish pale colour tinged with dark yellow and thus every grove and every wood look resplendent by the reflection of the rays of the sun as if painted with different hues.

ရက် and မြိုင် are synonymous terms both meaning pleasant grove or wood. Besides, there are several such words which signify “forest or wood.” They are ဂနိင်-စုံ-ဟေမာ etc. each slightly differing from the other in shades of meaning. The following may be quoted to illustrate their meaning. :—စုံနသာမြိုင်။ ရက်တွင်းမှာမို့။ ထုံသင်းငယ်ငြိုင်။ ဂနိင်ဟေမာ။ နွေအစမှာ။ ရွှေမြကလျာ။ ဟိုခင်ကိုလျှောက်ပါလို့။ လင်လျှောက်ကိုရှာခဲ့တယ်။ ဂန္ဓမာငူ။ မြေသလင်းမှာ။ နေမင်းကပူသန့်ငဲ့။ etc.

(It is the beginning of summer. The sun is very hot. I am now on a piece of bare ground by the side of a small hill. I have been searching for my missing mate. I have been through pleasant groves of *natha* trees filled with scented air; and also through large forests and woods and along yonder ridge &c.)

ကင်း in သီးကင်းနုစ။ is said of a fruit in its earliest stage.

ဩဇရသာ is a Pāli compound composed of ဩဇ and ရသာ the former meaning “sap or juice” and the latter “relish, taste, flavour, sweetness or zest.”

နတ်သွါ means "the food of the gods" or "ambrosia." ချိုစွာတင့်မော refers to the fruits that follow. တင့်မော (fitting or graceful) is allied to သာဓော (pleasant) and ချောမော (smooth or polished).

ငှက်ပျောသခွါ။ ခိုင်ညွတ်ကံ့ကော်။ These are the names of some of the fruits and flowers of the summer season.

သဖန်းခါး is an astringent and bitter fruit known as *terminalia bellerica*.

ရှစ်ရှား is also a species of the chebula tree (ကြာရ).

ဖက်သက် is another name for တရော် which is called the *linden bloom grewia*.

မြတ်ရှင်တော်ကို။ ပူဇော်လို့ငှါ။ means "in order to pay homage to the Blessed One i. e. Buddha."

မဟာလှေကား is a flower of the *bauhinia* species.

ဆတ်သွား is the name of a flower called *pandanus furcatus*.

ရင်ခတ် and ကံ့ကော် are also the names of flowers. There are two species of the former, namely (1) gardenia obtusifolia and (2) gardenia coronaria; and the latter is called mesua ferrea.

ညွန့်ရှင်လှလှ။ ရက်တင်းပြုလျက်။ မာန်ပုံဖက်၍။ may be rendered into English thus;—In the pride of nature the lively tender branches strive to outgrow one another.

လှလှ is here used in an adverbial form and it means "to strive." ရက် is derived from the Pāli ရက meaning "quality, characteristic or nature"; မာန် is also derived from the Pāli မာန which means "pride."

ညွတ်တွားသခွါ။ means "to pay respect in faith." သခွါ (Pāli) means "faith."

By these lines our poet means to imply that the bearing of fruits and the blossoming of flowers are not without some purpose. These things took place in honour of Buddha—whom he styles "the king of kings"—on the occasion of the *Thingyan* (new year's) festival.

အာကာသခါတ်။ ကောင်းကင်ရပ်က။ ဇောတရသ်ချယ်။ နတ်ဖုန်းကြွယ်လည်း။ This passage refers to the moon. She is described as holding a state council because she is attended by the nine constellations such as the crow, the crab, the sheldrake &c.

အာကာ which is a pure Pāli word means "sky, air or heavens;" and ခါတ် is derived from the Pāli ခါတု and it means "element." The whole expression therefore signifies "the element of air or the open air."

ဇောတရသ် from the Pāli ဇောတိရသ originally means a jewel having the power of conferring every wish. Here it simply means "ruby." The expression ဇောတရသ်ချယ်။ နတ်ဘုန်းကြွယ် (a glorious nat bedecked with ruby) refers to the moon which is said to be made of ruby inside and silver outside.

ကာက is a Pāli word for "the crow." It is also the name of a constellation of 12 stars called after its shape.

ကက္ကဋ္ဌ—(Pāli) the crab—is the name of one of the constellations. It consists of 14 stars and its shape agrees with its name.

တသံာ means "the ruddy sheldrake." It is also the name given to a collection of 9 stars. In appearance it resembles a sheldrake.

တာရာ (Pāli) means "a constellation."

ညီလာစုံခံ means "to hold a full council."

တိမ်ပြတန်စု။ ရှိပန်ဆင်ခဲ့။
This refers to the various shapes into which the clouds are forming. The clouds as well as the moon and the stars take part in paying respect to Buddha.

တိမ်ပြတန် means "canopy of cloud."

တဂုဏ်လုလုက် means "out of pride or in rivalry."

ကျေးဥဒ္ဓါရောင် means the colour of the egg of a parrot, i. e., light blue spotted with white.

မိလ္လာဘောင်ဝယ် means "amid a dark brown tinge." မိလ္လာ simply means "niello;" but here it refers to the colour which niello represents.

တိမ်တောင် is a cloud in the shape of a mountain.

စက်သွား is a toothed-wheel.

တိမ်ရထား is a cloud in the form of a chariot.

ကိုးပါးနဝရတ်။ တိမ်ပြသာဒ်လည်း means "a cloud in the form of a turret studded with nine kinds of jewels."

လူထွတ်ပရမေ။ သုံးလူ့ဆွေကို။ These are two happy epithets commonly applied to Buddha.

လူထွတ်ပရမေ means "one superior to men." ပရမေ (Pāli) means "highest or chief."

သုံးလူ့ဆွေ means "lord of men, nats and Brahmas," i. e. Buddha.

ရှိပန်ဆင်ခဲ့ means "to pay honour to or to worship."

တောခွင်တောင်တူ။ ဖက်နွဲ့ယဉ်သို့။

The allusion is to the burning of the ground for cultivation and sowing of seeds by the mountain-dwellers or the hill tribes during the sowing season. The rolling of thunder following the *Thingyan* festival is ascribed to the beating of the fabulous crab-drum by the rain god.

တောခွင်တောင်တူ means "throughout the forests and in the depths of the mountains or hills."

ဒေဝမာန် means "the proud rain-god." It is made up of ဒေဝ and မာန်. The former is a pure Pāli word which means "the cloud *deva*" or "the rain-god;" and the latter is from the Pāli မာန် which means "pride."

ဗုဒ္ဓန်ဆောင်၍ simply means the beat of the crab-drum known as the *Alambara* drum. The reference is to the fabulous drum, made from one of the claws of a large crab which lived in a lake in the Himalayas. This crab was so large that it could even cause the death of an elephant. So, it was in the habit of killing the elephants which happened to go down into the lake and of feeding upon their flesh. However, it was at last trampled to death by the elephant who was the embryo Gotama Buddha. The two big claws of the dead crab later on found their way into the river Ganges and were carried away by the current. One was saved by the princes known by the name of *Dasabhātika* or "the ten brothers," who made it into a drum and called it "*Ālinga*." The other which drifted into the ocean was taken charge of by the *Asūras* or the fallen *nats*. It was also turned into a big drum by the *Asūras* who named it as "*Alambara*." This drum at last fell into the hands of *Sakra* in one of the annual wars between him and the chief of the *Asūras*.

ညွန့်ရှင်ခက်သွယ်။ သီးမျိုးခိုင်ညွှာလပြတ်တည်း။

This concluding passage means that the various trees and plants of the whole forest realm—some with tender buds and fruits, some with tender branches and boughs—in obedience to nature and depending upon their practices join to adore Lord Buddha like men.

တောနိကယ်တုံ means "collection of forest groves." နိကယ် from the Pâli နိကာယ means "collection" or "assemblage."

အံ့တွယ်သရဲ means "wonderfully."

ဖူးညှောက်ကိုက်နု means "young tender bud." Both ကိုက် and နု means "tender."

သီးမှုသဇ္ဇေ means "to turn from a flower into a fruit." သဇ္ဇေ means "conception."

ကမ္ဘာ here means "nature."

Po BYU.



I

၁။ စက်ဆွဲနှစ်လီ။ ခွါဒသီဝယ်။ သုံးလီဥတု။ လက်ဝယ်လုသာ။ ရတုသာ။ လမဏ္ဍလျင်။ သဘင် ဂိမ္မာန်။ တာသင်းကြန်ဟု။ လေပြန် လွှင့်ကူ။ ဘုံသစ်ထူ၍။ ဥဏှဂူနတ်။ ဖလရဟတ် လည်း။ သဟသရောင်။ ခြည်တထောင်ဖြင့်။ ပြောင်ပြောင် ဝင်းထိန်။ အာဏာ နှိမ်လျက်။ ပြင်းရှိန်အန္တ။ ကုန်စွမ်း ပြသော်။ လေခမြေသက်။ ဖျာန်ဝိတက်သို့။ သစ်ရွက်ရော်ရီ။ ဣန္ဒနီဝယ်။ သိင်္ဂီတဝက်။ ဖက်၍ဆေးစုံ။ ချယ်သောပုံသို့။ ရဂုံမြိုင်တွင်း။ တောလုံး လင်းသာ။ သီးကင်းနုစ။ အချိုကမူ။ ဩဇ ရသာ။ နတ်သုခွါသို့။ ချိုစွာတင့်မော။ ငှက်ပျော သခွါ။ သဖန်းခါးနှင့်။ သျှစ်ရှား သမ္ပရာ။ ဩဇာသရက်။ ဖက်သက် တရော်။ မြတ်ရှင်တော်ကို။ ပူဇော်လို့ငှါ။ သီးကြရှာ၏။ မဟာလေကား။ ဆတ်သွား ရင်ခတ်။ ခိုင်ညွတ် ကံ့ကော်။ ထိုထို သော်လည်း။ တော်သင်းကြန်ဝင်း။ သည်သဘင်၌။ ညွှန်ရှင်လုလု။ ဂုဏ်တင်း ပြုလျက်။ မာန်ပုံဖက်၍။ မင်းထက် မင်းဖျား။ တို့ဘုရားကို။ ညွတ်တွေးသခွါ။ ဖူးပွင့်လာ၏။ အာကာသဓာတ်။ ကောင်းကင် ရပ်က။ ဇောတရသ် ချယ်။ နတ်ဘုန်း ကြွယ်တုံ။ ပြိုင်ဆွယ် ကာက။ ကက္ကဋ်နှင့်။ ဟသံဘူတာရာ။ ရံဝန်း ကာလျက်။ ညီလာစုံခံ။ ကွန်မြူးစံရှင့်။ တိမ်ပြတန်စု။ တဂုဏ်လုသည်။ ကျေးဥ အရောင်။ မိလ္လာဘောင်ဝယ်။ တိမ်တောင် စက်သွား။ တိမ်ရထားနှင့်။ ကိုးပါးနဝရတ်။ တိမ်ပြာသားလည်း။ လူထွဋ်ပရမေ။ သုံးလုဆွေကို။ ညွတ်ဆွေဦးတင်။ ရှိပန်ဆင်ခွဲ။ တောခွင် တောင်ထူ။ ပျော်ကြောင်း လုသည်။ တောင်သူ့ ဓလေ့။ ယာမီး ကြွေသာ။ မျိုးစေ့ မြေနှံ။ ဒေဝမာန်လျှင်။ ညံတမြိန်မြိန်။ ဘဝင်စိန်မျှ။ သိမ့်သိမ့်ရိုက်ကျော်။ ဗုဒ္ဓန်ဆော်၍။ ခါတော်သဘင်။ ဖက်နွယ်သို့။ ညွှန်ရှင်ခက်သွယ်။ တောနိကယ်တုံ။ အံ့ဘွယ်သရဲ။ ကဲကြ ဆင့်ဆင့်။ ပင်မြင့်ပင်လတ်။ ပင်ပျပ် ပင်စောက်။ ဖူးညွှောက် ကိုက်နု။ စည်းဝေးပြီ၍။ သီးမှသန္ဓေ။ သုံးလူဆွေကို။ ရိသေလှစွာ။ လူပမာသို့။ ကမ္ဘာလိုလိုက်။ စရိုက်အားကိုး။ ညွှန်ညွှန်ပြီးသည်။ သီးမျိုးခိုင်ညွှာလပြတ်တည်း။

The sun swings westward aslant. Signs and seasons speed in procession to where the *let* keeps its station high in the eastern sky. Innocent freshness decks the *Thingyan* season of the infant year. April airs sweep along in fitful gusts. Phœbus' crystal disc shoots its fiercest blaze in a thousand rays. Withered leaves shaken from the spray glide down on the aery surge as if in mystical ecstasy. Their sapphire hue seems dashed with gold. A clamour of colour fills the vernal woods. Tender fruits peep from the budded quicks and mellow clusters luscious as ambrosia sway in the air. The golden banana, the cold cucumber, the bitter sycamore, the tart *shitsha*, the acid lime, the delicious custard-apple, the juicy mango, the restless *petthet* and the riotous *grewia* rush to render their homage to the thrice-adored Sage. The *Mahahlega* varied in colour, the *saththwa* fragrant as ever, the *yingat* with its yellow bud, the *gangaw* subtle in odour put forth their blooms on this occasion of joy and mirth. In the pride of nature impatient of out-blooming the rest, each bares its breast in adoration to the king of kings. Lesser lights constellate in the ambient sky and take fancy shapes. Lo, the crow, the crab, the sheldrake shine around the moon's loveliness. Banks of cloud shot with shades of azure and sable fleece the sky. They shift and wave and form now a wheel, then a chariot and again a nine-jewelled turret. The noiseless columns bow before the peerless superman in splendid rivalry. Joyous peals of thunder usher in the seeding-season and urge the tribes of the hills to burn and till and sow their land as is their use and wont. It is now the time of song and dance. The drumming thunder rings through the folding circles of heaven like the

plangent roll of the crustacean drum in honour of the enlightened One. In the forest grove, threes and plants—both high and low—are crowned with sprout and bud and fruit. Fruit-laden branches and boughs pay their vows in mortal-wise to the exalted One.

(Accuracy of the spirit rather than of the letter has been striven after. Critics-to-be should refer to U Po Byu's notes for allusions.)

B. H.

THE BURMESE NOVEL.

The Burmese are adepts in the art of story-telling. They tell a story less for the purpose of preserving its integrity than with the intention of entertaining the listener by presenting it in an exaggerated form. What would be a dull account from the point of view of fact becomes in their mouth a delightful story spun out by the subtlest play of fancy. This tendency is early seen in the Nursery Rhymes: The Burmese babe is lulled to sleep amidst the rockings of its cradle, while the mother keeps time by singing lullabies about the big tom-cat with the bleary eyes and the stumpy tail, eating the fat and swallowing the flesh and about the rabbit crouching and the grand-pa pounding rice in the golden moon;¹ and is sent off to dream of chasing the stars and riding the sun. The spirit of romance is thus instilled into the infant mind, if it is not already its birth-right. Nurtured in the cradle of fancy, the babe develops its imaginative faculty and displays it early in speech. The imagination grows with the child's age and easily acquires predominance over the rest of the mental faculties, so that truth itself comes to occupy a relatively inferior position. Not that the Burmese are a nation of deliberate liars; but carried away by their imagination they often indulge in a little falsehood for the love of sport. They take delight in imposing on other people (provided it is done with impunity) by presenting Truth in various colours and are proud of their success in making her pass for what she is not. Witness the clown at the *pwe*, whose business largely consists in laying siege to the fortress of Truth by means of the weapon of Imagination. Sometimes they carry this propensity to such an extent that they defeat their own object. It is then that most foreigners hastily conclude the Burman to be bereft of truth. In conversation it is often difficult to make a witty Burman commit himself to anything. With his rare powers of expressing himself in *double entente*, which forms one of the greatest charms of Burmese conversation, he wriggles through your principles of academic logic as easily as an eel through the fingers. But the eel must not be mistaken for the serpent.

The same remarks apply to the ghost stories. Imagination has clothed Burmese ghosts with a garb peculiar to themselves. They are as elusive of the light as their originator is to reveal their identity. They justify their existence by playing with man just as a cat plays with a mouse or for the love of sport. We read of a ghost which wrestles with a fowler and has the sense of honour to admit it is beaten; of another ghost which is hunted to death by hounds just like a rabbit. They mean business when they terrify man. But except when tormented by extreme hunger, they are good-natured beings, sometimes even conversing with human beings and like them leading a life of birth and death. They are thus eminently human by nature and are very unlike some of the scientific ghosts of the West. The point of these ghosts lies in the charming tales that imagination has woven round them in testimony to its luxuriant growth in the Burmese mind.

¹ On Nursery Rhymes see J. B. R. S. Vol. I, pt. II, p. 26.

A further proof is afforded by folk-lore where most of the tales give a touch of morality to animal nature like the fables of Æsop. Others again are real products of the imagination, being characterized by a sense of humour, coupled with homely wit.¹

But imagination finds its greatest scope in the magnificent stories of the Court dramas. The Burmese word for drama is *zat*. There are the Buddhist *zats*, translated from the Pali Jātakas or Buddhist Birth Stories. There are again the popular dramas, called *pyazats*, which are regularly produced for the entertainment of the people. From all these the Court dramas are distinguished by excellence in style and poetry. Indeed, they belong to the first rank of literature. They reveal their authors to be endowed with that mythopœic faculty so essential for the imagination. No other branch of literature shows such sustained powers of poetic grace, such achievements of the Romantic spirit. Bodawpaya, like a true patron of literature, encouraged this form of art. In 1798 *Mya-wa-ti mingyi* wrote his *I-naung Zat*, otherwise *Indārūdhā*, adapted from the Siamese. And *Princess Hlaing-Hteik-Khaung-Tin* has earned immortal fame by her masterpieces, *Vijayakārī* and *Indavamsa*. There are also the *Rāmasat* from the well-known Indian *Rāmāyana* and others less known. The *Mingyi* employs more prose and is less imaginative than the Princess. His diction is stately, like the measured tread of a Court procession; hers is like the sprightly dance of fairy actresses relieved by the guffaws of deep-throated clowns. They are the best of the writers of the Court drama and deservedly are artists of the Romantic School. So dominant is the spirit of romance in them that it can be seen carrying them on the downy wings of fancy, revealing to them the wonders of the creation and familiarizing them with other worlds than our own. And these fancy-favoured ones behold the radiant hosts of the Gods, seated 'in close recess and secret conclave,' with Sakka as their Lord, passing judgment on the world of men. Or in their capacity as war correspondents they witness fierce battles fought, with sky-traversing aeroplanes and weapons that set the ocean a-flame and shake the earth to the very foundation, against *Beloos* who kidnap maidens from the world of men. Sometimes curiosity leads them to the celestial pond where sport lovely nymphs of such ineffable beauty as to win the love of the *Nats* themselves. But the most interesting thing they have discovered is the secret of love-making among the celestials. The *Nats* employ a dart called Fancy-dart, which when shot at the object of Love develops into seven other darts. In the flight their hundred arrow-heads gather the most variegated buds and blossoms from the garden of Desire, just as one might make a garland of the *Zaw-rukharā* and *Āsāvati* celestial flowers. And the seven darts arranging the flowers so as to spell your name and designation keep hovering above the charmed lady like so many sparrows, with the arrow-heads pointing at her heart; while the original Fancy-dart after making a garland of flowers from the *Gandhavana* garden ('the Scented Grove') returns to the quiver. Two of the seven darts capture the lady by stationing themselves on either side of her like two sentinels. The remaining five darts develop a hundred-fold and capture her five hundred attendant

¹ On Burmese Folk-lore see Vol. I, pt. II, p. 28 ff.

maids: Some enter right into the tip of their hairs and others brush by their breasts; some hit against their sides and others aim at their breath; some pierce their middle sides and others bend below their chins and come out from behind their ear-rings—with the result that the maidens can hardly breathe with the excitement of love.¹ The *Nats* take good aim with the dart and do not shoot blindly like our Cupid. They even follow its flight to see that it has not missed its mark. That is probably the reason why our love affairs under the direction of blind Cupid often turn into scenes of confusion.

These and other various experiences in the worlds which their fancy has created for our amusement are recounted to us by these writers in language so superb and inimitable as to be worthy of the *Nats* themselves. The music of the songs 'married to immortal verse' is so harmonious that it seems as though it came direct from the celestial choir itself. Beauty of language and music of rhythm are not the only merits possessed by these artists. If they are Romanticists they are also creative critics. The true artist accepts the facts of life and out of them shapes so many forms of beauty, just as a great composer might create fantasias out of a given theme of music. But the critic exhibits a work of art in a different form of beauty, imparting his own impressions, according as some new mood of thought and feeling has been suggested by it. Even so these Burmese writers combine the artistic temperament with the critical faculty to a nicety. They write delightful romances which at the same time are criticisms of life. Their works give us valuable pictures of the Burmese Court with all its accompanying mysteries. And nothing is so well done as the unmasking of the amorous intrigues that took up most of the time of both prince and princess alike. The passages descriptive of their love scenes are marvels of literary art and life criticism. The Dialogues of Burmese lovers can be appreciated only by the Burmese, who have made a deep study of the eternal fires that burn beneath the human breast and discovered the heart to be the chief stimulant. They are mostly subtle professions of the sentiments of love, lavished in profusion as dictated by the flutterings of the awakened heart over the grave reasonings of the steady head. These professions are couched in language which is eminent for the purpose, finding ample scope in its rare powers of expression, different shades of meaning, figures of speech and above all the unique innuendos born of the union of the male and female members of a Burmese word (ကောသလိ ကောသလ). Mere words even are susceptible to the attraction of the sexes! Such long and sustained dialogues of love, where the heart reigns supreme would, in their entirety, be tedious to a modern non-Burman reader.

Thus the Burmese Romance-dramas are not only eminently endowed with the two qualities that constitute the essence of Romance: marvellous adventures and love-interest but are also masterpieces of literature. They are epical in spirit and dramatic in form: the *Indavamsa* begins with the genealogy of the hero, carries him through the incidents and adventures of his life and ends with blessings over his wedded life. They contain some

¹ Adapted from the *Vijayakāri*.

of the best lyrics in literature: the *Vijayakārī* is a luxuriant garden from which a superb garland of lyrics might be culled. They display excellent skill in character drawing: Princess Bhagutārī the hero-heroine of the *Indavamsa* is portrayed with such a realistic effect that we feel her presence as though she were actually alive, winning our hearts by the singularity of her manners and actions. This being so, it would not be a mistake to regard the Burmese Romance as the parent of the modern novel. But a question arises: Why did the Burmese who in the Romance have displayed such powers of story-telling and discovered a love-interest and an imagination that would have done credit to any novelist wait till the year 1904 to write their first novels? It is certainly not because they were lacking in the powers of narrating in prose. Indeed it is doubtful whether the beginning of Burmese literature lies in prose or poetry. It is not our present purpose to decide that point; a history of literature has yet to be written. And it should suffice us to know that inscriptions, histories and moral tales were written in good prose very early in the history of literature. The *Po: U: daung* inscriptions in the first half of the eighth century, *Pagan Rājawan* early in the fourteenth century and *Maṇikunḍala vatthu* in the first half of the seventeenth century readily occur to us as specimens of prose narration. Even Silavamsa of the fifteenth century, one of the greatest Burmese poets, could not resist the temptation of narrating in prose. The prose of his *Rājawan Kyaw* and *Pārāyana Vatthu* is of no mean order. Burmese prose thus shared equal honours with poetry.

The reason for the late appearance of the novel must be sought elsewhere. The Ecclesiastical ban that was cast upon all kinds of writing of a secular nature remained in force so long as the first wave of religious enthusiasm prevailed. And as the Buddhist religion ever since its introduction has continued to exercise a singular influence over the minds of the people, absorbing their interests and directing their energies to itself, it has left them little freedom to indulge in their own tastes. Hence the vast production of metrical versions of the Buddhist Birth Stories under the designation of the *Pyo*. Indeed it would not be wrong to say that from the quantitative point of view, the *Pyo* holds the first place in poetry. Moreover, the literary merits manifested in this form of literature (the *Ko-gan-pyo* of Raṭṭhasāra, for instance) are equal to those that go to the making of an epic, so well has literary genius been concentrated on religion. In fact, the *pyo* might well be styled the religious epic. The reason why the Burmese with such poetical powers have not produced the epic proper is the same as the reason why the Pali language does not possess an epic: In the life-time of the Buddha, Pali was a better known language than the Sanscrit and as a language generally is not the inferior of the two. Yet whereas Sanscrit can boast of epics and plays of the first order, Pali is wholly unrepresented in these departments. Buddhism, of which Pali is the medium, has thus succeeded now in Burma as then in India in discountenancing secular literature. The effect on Burma is great, where literary genius is mostly confined to the Clergy and the novel has not been thought of as a possible undertaking. But there is a branch of Burmese literature which falls outside the pale of the Ecclesiastical

law: The *pyazat* or the popular drama is the sphere of the layman. The Burmese are probably the most theatrical people in the world. And the rival production of the *pyazats* against that of the religious works makes an interesting problem as to whether religion or the drama exercises greater sway over the Burmese mind. However that may be, the evidence is that *pyazat* is the only department which can compete with religion in the number of published works. It is significant that Maung Po Sein, the actor should be a contemporary of Ledi Sadaw, the preacher. The popularity of the *pyazat* not only derives itself from the Burmese temperament but also is rendered effective by the prevailing social conditions. The fact that such an amorous uation as the Burmese cannot carry on their amours (the course of true love seldom running smooth) so freely and openly as they would wish, is due to the constrained etiquette, which the lovers must observe as members of the Society. And in the East Etiquette is less tempered with rationalism than in the West. But as nature will not be disregarded, their amours often lead to delicate situations. Hence more love letters pass through the post than in most countries or presents are lavished more on intermediaries than on the beloved ones themselves. Such apprenticeship at the temple of Love does not provide good training in the path of morality. The social conditions under which it is served are responsible for there being few lovers who are also lovers of truth. A study of a good Burmese novel will bear out these remarks. Nature, discountenanced by Society, takes revenge by asserting itself in the domain of fancy. That is why love-interest is so dominant in the earlier romances and is the main-spring of the numerous *pyazats* that continue to divert the people with the feigned amours of actors. The theatre, that is to say, provides the people with what they may not freely indulge in real life. Thus it is that young maidens and virtuous mothers can enjoy, without being ill at ease, the most vulgar jokes launched by the clown into the sea of appreciative faces. And thus the *pyazat* has retarded the birth of the novel.

Moreover, the development of their imaginative faculty is not calculated to foster scientific investigation; consequently the Burmese are great as Romanticists and poets but have not made their mark as original scientists. The artistic temperament does not go hand in hand with the scientific spirit. Their lack of training in close scientific observation and the peculiar social conditions under which they live have made them shy of looking the facts of life in the face, not to speak of recording them in writing. They have not thought of chronicling the illegalities of their private life. They have been accustomed to throw a cloak of mystery over their doings. Hence the scarcity of Burmese biographies. But with the advent of the English, inaugurating the dawn of Western culture, the old order changes and the Burmese novel, which for the reasons given above has been so long delayed, at last makes its appearance. The general effect of this great change in history has been to wake the people from their dreams in the region of Romance to the crude realities of life. The babe is no more rocked in the cradle of imagination, but, on the contrary, its budding imagination is stunted by the scientific surroundings provided by the Infantile Mortality. The theodolite

and the foot-rule are not the implements with which castles may be built in the air. Amidst the din and danger of modern traffic one may not indulge in the thought of coursing through unlimited space in flower-made chariots and live on air like the shining Gods. In fact, science has dealt the death-blow to the Burmese Romance. But the Burmese are good at adapting themselves to their environments and are already making progress under the new influence. The novel is one of the results and it is interesting to know that its appearance has been heralded by translations into Burmese of various stories from different sources which being the works mostly of non-Burmans must have served as models to the Burmese; just as in school the teacher writes out a model essay for the guidance of his pupils. The Burmese are *A People at School* and the novels *Maung Yin Maung* and *Ma Mè Ma* by James Hla Gyaw and *Maung Hmaing vatthu* by U Maung Kyi are among their first essays.

Although these Burmese translations from foreign sources do not belong to the department of novels it is to the present purpose to mention some of them as evidence of the forces at work in the production of the modern novel. The *Fables of Æsop* were translated from the Greek by W. Shway Too Sandys in 1880. S. A. Rahman translated the *Arabian Nights' Entertainments* in 1896. The Urdu language provided a good translation of *Bagh O Bahar* by Mohamed Cassim and Mohamed Usoof (1898). *Robinson Crusoe* was translated by Maung Po Zaw in 1902, a rare undertaking by a Burman before 1904.

Such are the beginnings of the Burmese novel. With these preliminary remarks we intend to review the novels in the order of their chronology. One novel, *Shwepyiso* has already been reviewed by "J. A. S." in the Journal, Volume IV, part II, page 152. And the present number contains another review by Maung Ba Han on *Chit-yo-ahman*.

—Editor.

NOTES AND REVIEWS.

THE CORONATION

OF

KING DATHA-RĀJĀ (1153-1165 A.D.)

In India Buddhism flourished in its purest form till the close of the first century A. D. during which time it had no rival faith worthy the name. That the Jains of those days formed an insignificant minority will be clearly evidenced by the fact that more than three fourths of the people named, specified objects of donation, inscriptions throughout India from Asoka to Kanishka's time are Buddhist, while the majority of the remainder are Jain. From that time onwards, the Brahmins, with their numerous gods and manifold sacrifices, became increasingly powerful till, in the first half of the eighth century, a furious persecution instigated by the great Brahmin apostle, Kumarila Bhata, succeeded in eliminating Buddhism from the land of its birth. It cannot, therefore, be supposed that such a mighty upheaval did not in some way influence the religious thoughts and ideas of Arakan, which is India's next door neighbour. In fact all available records clearly indicate that just about this time or a little while after it, Brahmin gods and their sacrificial forms came into Arakan and along with Buddhism—the original religion—they found equal favour with the people. It so profoundly affected the Arakanese of those days that a whole dynasty of their kings adopted Hindu names. The coins they struck bore on one side the effigy of the sacred bull, Nandī, the riding animal of the god Siva. Temples were erected in quick succession in the approved Indian style and were specially dedicated to the worship of Siva and Vishnu. The decorations, which were used in these religious structures, consisted of figures illustrating the lesser gods of the Hindu Pantheon.

When Datha-Rājā ascended the throne of Arakan in the 12th century, Buddhism and Brahmanism shared equal honours and the cults of Siva and Vishnu were in high favour. Indeed, so deeply rooted were the latter faiths in his country that they affected all the ceremonials, even of a purely domestic nature. They permeated every household and influenced the individual and domestic concerns of everyday life. They interfered with marriage, which, before that time, was purely a civil contract; they required a person to perform certain sacrifices before undertaking a journey; they imposed obligations on cultivators and fishermen and, in a thousand different other ways, which constituted the daily life of the people.

Nowhere in the history of Arakan is this fact so prominently brought out than in the coronation of King Datha-Rājā on the full moon day of Kasôn 1158 A. D., which the old chroniclers have handed down to us with all the accuracy and vividness of the Dutch School. The following is a summary of what I have been able to gather from various sources, which, I trust,

will enable the general reader to form a just estimate of the powerful influence of Brahmanism in Arakan from the end of the 8th to the middle of the 14th century A. D.

By the advice of the astrologers and other Brahmans, whose special duty was to conduct religious ceremonies, active preparations were made for the coronation of the King. From the seven different hills in the various parts of the kingdom earth was collected. A particular kind of wood was cut at a certain hour of a certain day of a certain week for the erection of the pandals. On the most auspicious day of that year, i.e. the full moon day of Kasôn, three kinds of pandals were erected, having for their roofing a particular kind of leaves brought by the Shans of the north-east. The place selected was the right bank of the Lemro river, a parallel stream to the east of the Kaladan. The first pandal had the general appearance of a lion and was called သီတာသန. The second resembled an elephant and was called ဝေသာသန. The third resembled a peacock and was called မောရာသန. The first was decorated all in white, the second in red, and the third in blue. In the first Brahmans, in the second sailors, and in the third cultivators, waited in attendance. Then the ground covered by each of the pandals was laid over with a layer of the earth brought from the seven different hills. In the first pandal, a millionaire's son clothed in yellow robes had to till the ground by means of a gold ploughshare drawn by white bulls. In the second, the son of one who belonged to the middle class and clad in red robes had to do the same by means of a silver ploughshare. The son of an agriculturist in green robes had to do likewise in the third by means of an iron ploughshare. After this, the earth was well mixed with cow's milk and dung and then grains of paddy, millet, sessamum and so forth were strewn over. The whole place was then fenced off so as to prevent the intrusion of those who were not directly concerned with the ceremonies.

When these preliminaries had been gone through, the Brahmans conveyed the images of Sārasvatī, Pārvatī and Visnu on chariots decked out for the occasion, and placed them in the pandals amidst the chants of *mantras* and other incantations. Twelve other Brahmans and four Bhikkhus intoned special hymns usually employed at the ordination of Buddhist monks. At the same time, another class of Brahmans repeated appropriate *slokas* from the vedic texts. This ended, there was a simultaneous blowing of conches during which the structures were sprinkled with holy water.

The sacred water of the Ganges was then brought in jars of gold, and, at the most favourable conjunction of the planets, the water of the Kaladan and the Lemro rivers was conveyed by forty virgins belonging to the five highest classes of the people. Eight were princesses with gold jars; eight were daughters of Brahmans with earthenware jars; eight were daughters of ministers with copper jars; eight were daughters of millionaires with silver jars; and eight were daughters of middle class people with iron jars. Each class went in separate boats and were accompanied by Brahmans, ministers, and representative agriculturists. Then in the midst of strains of joyous music, the boats pulled towards midstream, where the jars were filled and then the parties returned to the shore. The water conveyed by the princesses

and the daughters of Brahmans was placed in the lion pandal, that brought by the daughters of ministers in the elephant pandal, and the remainder in the peacock pandal. The whole route from the Royal Palace to the pandals was sprinkled with holy water and flowers by Brahmans, who chanted hymns at the same time. It was also completely roofed over all the way so as to shut out sunlight, and, on both sides, sugar cane and plantain trees were alternately planted.

At the conclusion of all these elaborate preparations, the King and Queen clad in splendid robes, glittering with the nine kinds of gems that ornamented them, proceeded on a white elephant towards the pandals, escorted by armed soldiers, Brahmans and Ministers, who went both before and behind them. On arrival, they entered the lion pandal. Here, the King separating himself from the queen uttered certain formulas while humbly seated on the floor. He then bathed himself in the elephant pandal, and, in the other, he washed his head. Having performed these acts, the eight princesses clad in beautiful raiment stood before the King, and administered the first coronation oath: "Oh King, in all your conduct, be you guided by the wisdom and experience of all the wise monarchs who ruled the earth before you. Oh King, it is our fervent hope that you will not be the first to give offence to other neighbouring kings; that you will always encourage and support all the industrial and commercial enterprises of your subjects; that you will always treat your people as if they were your own children; that you will guard and protect their properties and possessions and that you will always regard their lives as dear as your own. Oh King, we wish you to discard every form of anger, malice and hatred, and to do and say only that which is right and appropriate." Saying this, with one accord and with uplifted hands, they poured from silvery white conches studded with gems the sacred Ganges water over his head.

Eight high-class Brahmans then stepped forward and administered the second oath: "Oh King, be the defender of your faith. Strive always to make it popular and universal. Love and defend all living beings as you would your own self. Protect the properties of your subjects as you would your own. In all political relations with other countries, do not be the aggressor. We implore you to discharge your kingly duties always, to listen to the advice of wise counsellors and to preserve the honour of your race." They then went through the same ceremony of pouring Ganges water over his head.

Eight men belonging to the middle class then stepped forward and administered the third oath: "Oh King, we trust you will introduce just and benign laws for the prosperity and progress of your subjects. We implore you to avoid all forms of evil and to shun the companionship of those who have no honour nor self-respect."

At the conclusion of this ceremony, the representatives of all the different classes of people took their stand before the King, and administered the fourth and final oath: "Oh King, by virtue of the (water pouring) ceremony, which we have just performed, we hope you will be able to carry out all our wishes in every particular. Rule us wisely and well, and never levy

taxes more than the legitimate one-tenth of our incomes. Oh King, if you fulfill all our wishes and act and say all that we implore you to do, your majesty, might and power, both in the present and the future, will steadily increase, like the rising sun and the waxing moon. All the other kings will bow down before you, and own your allegiance, and all the territories over which you bear rule will be free from robbers and evil-doers. There will be profound peace, prosperity and plenty, and, above all, you will enjoy a long and happy life. But if, on the other hand, you set our wishes at naught, and give rein only to your own wicked and selfish desires, without any regard for the happiness and welfare of your subjects, may there be not only a speedy desintegration of your Kingdom by the prevalence of frequent storms, earthquakes, fires and other destructive forces of nature, by the depredation of thieves, robbers and all other agents of lawlessness, but may you yourself also have a short and miserable life, and, in the end, may you suffer unto eternity all the indescribable horrors of the nethermost hell."

The King then, having made a solemn vow that he would conduct himself in such a way as to give satisfaction to every one of his subjects, returned with his Queen to the Royal Palace in the same imposing order as when he started from it. This concluded the whole ceremony, and the three pandals were dismantled and cast into the Lemro river in order to prevent the commission of sacrilege on them.

SAN SHWE BU.

THE WORLD IS ROUND.

Christian missionaries have been wont to level their criticisms against Buddha's omniscience because of the lack of scientific geography in Buddhism. The Buddhists themselves are much to blame for this missionary attitude. The Buddha was silent on the point whether the world is round or flat. He accepted the fact that it is surrounded by space on all sides, and at times he referred to its rotatory motion. In his preaching, the Buddha adopted the Hindu cosmogony and spoke of the sun as going round Mount Meru, just as modern scientists still speak of the sun rising and setting.

Now, ancient Hindu astronomers located this Mount Meru in the centre of our world and projected the world, somewhat after Mercator's system, on a flat surface. They divided the space between this centre and the circumference into 180 degrees, neither more nor less. It is clear that they knew the property of a circle as consisting in its divisibility into 360 degrees. They considered that the world is round in any direction. That is, they recognised that it is round in all directions. Buddhaghosa in unmistakeable terms declared that it is round. In the *Aṭṭhasālīnī*, he wrote:—

Sabbam (cakkavālam) parimaṇḍalam. 'Maṇḍalam' by itself means 'round,' but the force of the prefix 'pari' has the sense of 'in all directions.' The adjective 'sabbam'—all, refers to the world in its entirety and not to any particular part of it. Therefore the above passage may be rendered: 'The world in its entirety is globular.' Further on he explained that by

'globular' he meant 'like a hen's egg.' He contrasted the two terms 'globular' and 'circular':—

By "circular" (*vaṭṭaṃ*) is meant "having the form of a wheel," (*cakka-saṅṭhāna*); but by "globular" is meant "having the form of a hen's egg" (*kukkuṭaṇḍa-saṅṭhāna*).

No language could be clearer than this. Buddhaghosa in effect declared that the world is like a hen's egg, as we moderns say it is like an orange.

Ānanda, the sub-commentator, in his *Tikā* known as *Mūla-tikā*, commented on the first passage by saying that here by '*parimaṇḍalaṃ*' is meant '*vattaṃ*.' Now, '*vattaṃ*' generally has two senses—'globular' and 'merely circular.' The Burmese translator, Pyi Sadaw, used it in the former sense. It is not clear in what sense Ānanda used it, for he is altogether silent on Buddhaghosa's own contrast of the two terms.

Dhammapāla, the author of the *Anuṭṭikā* said that the word '*parimaṇḍalaṃ*,' as applied to a round (*vattaṃ*) world—round because of being circular (*cakkasaṅṭhānattā*)—means *vaṭṭaṃ* (circular). This writer, assuming that the world is merely circular, understood the word '*parimaṇḍalaṃ*' to mean 'circular' and like Ānanda ignored Buddhaghosa's own explanation. The Pyi Sadaw thought the last mentioned author supported Ānanda and therefore followed Dhammapāla. He translated the word '*parimaṇḍalaṃ*' by 'merely circular' (ဝန့်စို), while he rendered '*vattaṃ*' by 'globular' (လုံးစို), as observed above. It is surprising that average Buddhists have not discovered the inconsistencies involved in saying that a wheel is globular and a hen's egg is circular. But in order to emphasize the circularity of the world, the learned Sadaw parenthetically added "Not eggshaped" (*na kukkuṭaṇḍa-saṅṭhāna*). Thus he directly contradicted Buddhaghosa.

Average Buddhists of Burma, who, conformably to their preconceptions, are naturally prejudiced against the world being round, prefer the construction put upon the clear diction of Buddhaghosa by later writers. It remains for the historian of ideas to trace from what earlier source Buddhaghosa got his views. He based his comments on the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā* which was written by Arahants. Did not the Arahants draw their inspiration from the Buddha? If the Buddha knew that the world is round, though in his popular teachings he avoided its introduction, he must have learnt it from ancient astronomers.

We know that the Greek philosopher Thales, a contemporary of the Buddha, taught the sphericity of the earth. But this doctrine was not generally accepted in Europe till about the middle of the third century B. C.

But the *Suriya-siddhanta*, an astronomical work of great antiquity by Malaya recognised the fact of sphericity of the earth as the following extract from its twelfth chapter, supplied to me by Saya Than Zin of Mandalay, shows:—

'The globe of earth (*bhū-golo*) rests (*tiṭṭhati*) in space (*byomni*).'

Its author even laboured to explain why men in antipodes do not fall off. 'Our own place (*sva-svaṭṭhānaṃ*) is (as if) established (*ṭhitaṃ*) above (*upari*) [the earth] because men (*narā*) have very small bodies (*svalpa-tarakāyā*).'

U Than Zin also tells me that Burmese have omitted to translate this chapter because they considered that its contents are opposed to the spirit or letter of Buddhism.

S. Z. A.

CHITYO-A-HMAN OR TRUE LOVE.*

Love is an affair of two, and is only for two that can be as quick, as constant in intercommunication as are sun and earth, through the cloud or face to face.—*Meredith*.

It is a notorious commonplace in the history of Burmese Literature that the art of the novel is a young new art. Our novel literature has its beginnings in the earliest lustrum of our century. Indeed, the first decade is signalized by twin events which are of considerable moment in the history of the Burmese novel. This period is pregnant with strong suggestions of big possibilities in fiction.

The year 1904 saw the appearance of James Hla Gyaw's *Maung Yin Maung and Ma Mè Ma*—the first Burmese novel proper. Another triumph followed. In 1909 Ma E Kin, the first woman novelist made her *début* with *Chityo-a-hman*. It is the challenge of youth to the tradition that the mellow maturity of experience is essential to the art of fiction. Moreover, it reveals the untapped sources of strength. Youth with its awakening and disillusionment is of the very life-blood of this brilliant novel.

It is the story of three young men in the formative period of their lives. Maung Tha Hlaing, Maung Ba Ket and Maung Ba Ko are thrown together at Rangoon College. They vow ever to love one another like brothers and to stand by the other in need. Maung Tha Hlaing, the hero and Maung Ba Ket graduate B. A., while Maung Ba Ko leaves College without taking his degree. The plot unravels tangled complications. The hero is moulded by the remorseless process of graduating in the school of women. Unaware of each other's passion, he and his friend Maung Ba Ko love the same girl. A succession of events evolves out of this dual love. Maung Tha Hlaing is appointed Probationary Myoök and is posted to Sagaing. He unfolds to his secret rival that Ma Thein Sin—Maung Ba Ket's sister—is his *fiancée*. Soon afterwards, he makes for Sagaing.

Maung Ba Ko plays his friend false and abducts Ma Thein Sin. Blind passion blots out the memory of love and friendship, vows and benefits. His sinister scheme all but succeeds. Maung Kya Gaing, a friend of Maung Tha Hlaing intervenes at the most timely moment and saves the situation.

Maung Ba Ko finds Rangoon too hot for him. He flees. After changing his identity, he takes service with a forest company near Mandalay. Sometime afterwards, he is transferred to Mandalay as Junior Agent. Mean-

* "*Chityo-a-hman*" by Ma E Kin Re. 1-8. (Authoress c/o U Po Bye, K. S. M., E. A. C.).

while Maung Tha Hlaing is confirmed in his appointment and placed in charge of the Shwebo Township. He hears at second hand that Ma Thein Sin has been abducted by Maung Ba Ko. He writes and asks her about the matter repeatedly. She keeps a sepulchral silence. Consequently he becomes a prey to wasteful care. He makes the acquaintance of U Cho, a broker of Mandalay. The broker's wife considers him a capital match for her adopted daughter, Kin Kin Nyun. She makes her husband manoeuvre to bring the young man to her house. She achieves her purpose.

Ma Thein Sin receives her *fiancé's* letter. But before she can reply, he enquires if she loves Maung Ba Ko. This cuts her pride to the smarting quick. She refuses to answer. A shower of letters follows. She allows her silence to speak. It speaks more eloquently than words. Though she has not written word, she has shed meanings. Still she does not waver from her first love. The pangs of disappointed affection cut her senses with a keen edge. Mental distress tells on her constitution.

Maung Ba Ko's parents—U Kala and Ma Min Baw—hear nothing of their son for some months. After a wordy warfare with his wife, U Kala is prevailed upon to go in search of his son. Between them a tiff is a common affair.

During Maung Tha Hlaing's stay at Mandalay, Maung Ba Ko springs a fresh surprise on his friend by showing forged letters purporting to be written by Ma Thein Sin. They not merely express her love for Maung Ba Ko but contain an urgent request to abduct her in order that she may be saved from a forced marriage with Maung Tha Hlaing. This shatters Maung Tha Hlaing's dream of love. But his sorrow does not deepen into despair; nay he thinks to marry out of pique. In this frame of mind he readily falls into the trap laid by his host, U Cho. He is deeply smitten with Kin Kin Nyun. In consequence, he asks his parents to seek her hand in marriage.

U Kala while making a fruitless search for his son chances upon Maung Tha Hlaing through whose pious offices he finds his son. But before parting company with Maung Tha Hlaing, he deceives Maung Tha Hlaing into believing that Ma Thein Sin has been all along in love with his son. This perplexes Maung Tha Hlaing painfully. Try as he may, he cannot stifle his passion for Ma Thein Sin. By one supreme effort, he sends his mother the ring given him by Ma Thein Sin with the request that it may be returned to the giver. His mother writes word to him of Ma Thein Sin's unswerving devotion. The letter miscarries.

U Kala meets his son who makes known his attachment to Ma Thein Sin and asks that advances may be made to achieve his wish. U Kala consents.

Maung Ba Ket visits Maung Tha Hlaing and hears how his friend has been crossed in love. He then proceeds to Mandalay where he is met by Maung Ba Ko. Maung Ba Ko insinuates that Maung Tha Hlaing stole Ma Thein Sin's heart merely to spite him (Maung Ba Ko). On his return to his people Maung Ba Ket announces the news of Maung Tha Hlaing's prospective marriage. Ma Thein Sin's eyes swim with tears. Still she refuses to be convinced by the logic of apparent facts.

Maung Tha Hlaing's mother hands over to Ma Thein Sin the ring returned by her son. She smarts to her marrow. In profound sorrow she also returns the ring given her by Maung Tha Hlaing. She desires that he may be told how happy she counts herself to break with one with a ranging fancy.

U Kala goes to Ma Thein Sin's mother and asks that her daughter may be given in marriage to his son. He receives a plump No. But he fatigues her refusals and suggests that the marriage would repair the girl's past. Ma Thein Sin sees her parents' concern for her. Wishful of pleasing them, she resolves to marry Maung Ba Ko. A moment afterwards, she winces at the prospect. She has given her heart to Maung Tha Hlaing. She has none left. She cannot find it in her to develop a heart for any one else. Trusting to a happy turn of events, she promises to give her decision after a lapse of six months.

Maung Ba Ko informs Maung Tha Hlaing that he is about to marry Ma Thein Sin. Foiled in his game of love, Maung Tha Hlaing tries to precipitate his marriage with Kin Kin Nyun. His mother communicates to him Ma Thein Sin's last word about his fickleness. This opens his eyes. Yet he believes the mistakes irrevocable and irreparable. Meanwhile, Ma Thein Sin hears of his forthcoming marriage. In utter desperation and out of a desire to meet the wishes of her parents, she agrees to wed Maung Ba Ko. Maung Tha Hlaing's parents go to their son together with his friend Maung Kya Gaing. Doubts are resolved and misunderstandings cleared up. The rights of the acute situation are now known. And Maung Ba Ko meets with a not undeserved fate. He dies of fever.

Maung Tha Hlaing is disillusioned. He severs his connections with Kin Kin Nyun and proceeds to England to study the law. After his arrival at England he hears of Maung Ba Ko's decease. Ma Thein Sin receives the news with a sigh of relief and dances for pure joy. Then she tells her parents how she intended to do away with herself on her bridal day. After three years, Maung Tha Hlaing is called to the Bar and returns home. By sheer accident he stumbles upon Ma Thein Sin and sues for pardon. Thus the lovers meet at the end of a painful journey of misunderstanding and separation.

Manifestly, the theme is common and the situations are ordinary. To say this is no slight to the authoress. Raffael painted with the seven primary colours and produced the *Transfiguration*. Beethoven employed the seven musical notes and composed the *Ninth Symphony*. So also a great novelist relates usual incidents with unusual power. Every one can tell a story. Few can tell a story that others care to listen. Not one in a thousand can reveal heart to heart through the universal emotion underlying the parochial affairs and circumstances of a story. It is literal truth to say that Ma E Kin has, in a way, achieved this rare distinction. She deserves high praise not by courtesy of letters towards the softer sex but for her qualities of distinction and power. Her work is astonishingly mature for a first novel. It shows her firm grip of life as it is lived by the upper classes of Burma. Its settings are of modern date but the problems put before us are unageing. They have occupied and

will ever occupy the serious thoughts of men. There is a touch of permanence in this episode of a shifting society.

Before we enter into a discussion of the present novel, it is well to be clear as to what is our idea of a novel. We at once find that it absolutely refuses to be caged within the confines of a definition. In such matters, definitions are perplexing and idle. Still it is almost the definition of a novel to say that it is the sympathetic study of human differences as exhibited in the interplay of fictitious personalities. It is essentially a human delight in the human race. It visualizes men and women and informs them with that spirit of humanity which makes them possessions for ever. Our delight is in seeing them live and move and have their being. We are led to take a lively interest in their thoughts and actions, character and conversation.

On this showing, four elements go to the making of a novel—plot, character, dialogue and description. The plot of *Chityo-a-hman* is well contrived and well handled. Incidents are so cunningly interwoven into a single narrative that it leaves an impression of extreme simplicity. The plot is indeed characterized by an austerity of execution. Events that have no bearing on the main action are studiously avoided. Everything is adjusted to one main idea. The authoress even tells us in so many words in the Ninth Chapter that she has left out certain conversations lest the plot become loose in structure.

The novel before us is an interesting study of the character and manners of modern social life. We are shown the relationship between a variety of persons instinct more or less with life and emotion. We have the hero and the heroine, the one mistrustful, the other high-spirited; friends, faithless and true; a shrewish wife and a niggardly husband; and parents of the Darby and Joan type. Though they have neither the full-blooded livingness of Fielding nor the subtle splendour of Meredith nor the elusive insinuation of Henry James, one and all are real and live. They are drawn with insight though not with subtlety. It is true that the authoress seizes the essentials of a character and presents it by deft touches and delicate strokes so that her personages live and develop before us. Still none of them possess life in abundance.

For all these limitations, the character of Maung Tha Hlaing is finely and firmly conceived. His doubts about his lady-love's constancy torture him. Opposed to him is Ma Thein Sin, faithful, loving, but slightly proud. They envisage the relentless actuality with diverse feelings according to their sex and temperament. The springs of their being are stretched out in full view. He first contemplates marriage with another girl and later on tries to forget his past. The heroine on the other hand, smothers the smouldering embers of love by considering him a vacillating man unworthy of her hand. We admire the authoress' blending of idealism and realism. Generally speaking, she mingles the virtues and vices in her characters evenly. They are neither angels nor demons. The villain Maung Ba Ko too has a saving trait. In despite of his dark heart he is constant in his love—or attachment, if you will. This, if not a good point is at least a reminiscence of it. Still we are tempted to think that he would be more real if he were less of a villain.

In the portrayal of Kin Kin Nyun the authoress' hand loses its innate adroitness. Kin Kin Nyun is not happily drawn. She lacks the warm glow of life. In fact, there is no record of her actual utterance. She strikes us as a doll. She has a great deal of polish. But she looks a trifle too wooden.

On the whole, the authoress' character-portraiture reveals to a large extent her knowledge of human nature. It is no exaggeration to say that she is at times deep in the feminine heart. The turns and windings of the heroine's heart are shown with vividness and vigour.

In character-drawing, the authoress adopts the process of vivifying her personages in their dialogue. For the purposes of the novelist, dialogue is the most subtle and effective means of character-draughtsmanship. For consider a moment. Is not conversation the best revealer of the chain of feeling, instinct, thought, passion which we vaguely term character? Has not the Lord and Master Himself said "Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh"? Here we would like to murmur a mild protest against the form of the dialogue. It looks much too theatrical. But this is by the way and does not detract from the authoress' skill in handling clever dialogue.

When we turn to the descriptive portion of the novel, we find little or no detailed scenic description. In point of fact, description is never indulged in for its own sake. The scenic element is given a subordinate place. Conversation forms the pivot on which great "moves" turn. It also helps us to realize the scenes. Still some pen-pictures are gems. One passage in particular is well worth reproducing:—ကြည်လင်မြေစွာ။ ရှုဘယ်မခန်းဖြစ်သော။ ညီညာသန့်ရှင်း။ စိန်းစိန်းညိုသော။ မြက်တိုခင်းတို့မှာ။ သင်းသင်းပြန့်ပြန့်။ ဝဲယာဘက်ခြံ။ ရောင်မျိုးစုံသော ပန်းအုံ ပန်းခက်တို့မှာ။ ပြန့်ထွက်၍။ ရနံ့လွှင့်သောညနေချမ်းအချိန်ကိုရောက်ကြလေ၏။ (They reach the deep-hued green. It is evening. And the sward looks sweet and clean. One may gaze and gaze and yet can never gaze his fill. Branch and bower lie on either hand and the multi-coloured bloom scents the air.)

Clearly, the novel is couched in picked prose. Not being a poetess, the authoress does not soar to the crystal heights of poetry. Her style evidences a good command of mother wit and racy Burmese. Pellucid, flexible, graceful, it possesses precisely the qualities that Burmese fiction needs to start on a new career. Those who are in love with correct spelling will however have cause to quarrel with the orthography of the novel.

The authoress not merely portrays but moralizes life. Her characters serve as pegs on which to hang ethical views. She is acutely alive to the merest departure from the code of good form, good sense and good taste. Sometimes she ruffles her serenity by too urgent an insistence on an obvious moral. We scarcely cherish the prospect of a sermon between the covers of a novel. However, sage words are hived in the opening of each chapter, and she pours into the story the wisdom of life. Beyond that, her charming aphoristic insets drive home her points. They embody commonplace wisdom. But they are written in the same fresh vernacular. We cite two instances among many. ငှက်ပြောပင်စိုက် မိလိုက်ဘဝ။ (*Plantain trees reproduce their own kind. So also parents transmit their characteristics to their children.) ရေတိမ်

* Cf. Like father, like son. Like crow, like egg.

ရေနက်ကို ကြာရိုး ကြာစွယ်တို့ဖြင့် သိရ။ († The stem of the water-lily and the shoot at its root indicate the depth of water).

She is never trivial, though she is not devoid of a sense of sly fun. Her shrewd comments display a fine understanding of men and women.

She puts into the mouth of U Cho's wife the current view of the accomplishments that go to give a young lady a commanding place in the matrimonial market. အင်္ဂလိပ်ဘာသာကိုလယ်လယ်ပတ်ပတ်။ ရှေးတတ်ဘတ်တတ်မှ။ ချက်ရေး ပြတ်ရေး အချုပ်အလုပ်။ အိမ်ထောင်ခမ်း နား ကိုရွက်ဆောင်တတ်မှသာဘောကြကြသည်။ နောင်သား သမီး များ ကို။ ပညာသင်ခြင်း။ ဗေဒစံတို့ကို စီမံဆွဲမြင် အကြောင်းများ ရှိသတိရှိ၍။ မြန်မာမင်း လက်ထက်ကကဲ့သို့။ မင်းကတော်။ စိုးကတော် အခေါ်ခံ၍။ ချမ်းညိုမိစွာ နေနိုင်သည် ခေတ်မဟုတ်။ လင်သားနှင့်အတူ။ မိုးတူပေါင်ဘက် စီမံခန့်ခွဲနိုင်မှု။ သာ၍တော်သတိရှိ၍။ သည်ထက် လွန်ကဲ၍။ စောင်း။ စန္ဒရား။ သရော။ ဘင်ချိုမိကြောင်းများကို တီးတတ်၍။ သီခြင်းများ သည် ကိုးတတ်လျှင်သာ၍ချီးမွမ်းခံရသေးသတိရှိ၍။ (Girls are admired only when they read and write English well and know cookery, needlework and household management. It is said that their business is to educate their children and to rule their servants. In these latter days women cannot merely lead a life of comfort and take the style of "Officer's wife" as in the days of the Burmese régime. They are appreciated all the more if they can stand by their husbands as helpmates. Above all they compel praise if they can sing songs and play the harp, the piano, the violin, the banjo and the lute; as well.)

We may remark parenthetically that the speaker of these words of sturdy good sense has many things in common with Mrs. Bennet of whom it is said:—"The business of her life was to get her daughters married." (*Pride and Prejudice*).

In order to expose the folly of fortune-hunters the authoress makes U Kala say to his wife with a taunt:—ဘီအောင်လျှင်။ ငွေနှစ်သောင်းလောက်ပါတံ့မိန်းမကလေးရမလေနှင့်ပြောလိုက်တာ။ (You said that if he obtained the B. A. degree he would have to wife a girl worth about Rs. 20,000).

Again, Maung Tha Hlaing's mother shows up the evil of forcing girls to marry for money. သမီးကိုအိမ်ထောင်ပေးစားရာတွင်လူကိုမစုံမက်ဘဲလျက်။ ရွှေငွေကိုစုံမက်ပါလျှင်။ သမီးကိုရောင်းစားသည့်လက္ခဏာနှင့်တူပါသည်။ (If wealth and not the person concerned counts with one in giving a daughter in marriage, the affair would look like a sale of one's daughter.)

It is therefore abundantly clear that the authoress takes a full-dress view of life. Her novel deals with everyday events. Even the abduction is not out of the ordinary in this country. It is the last resort of young bloods who cannot win fair ladies with fair words and by fair means. In her treatment of ordinary life she resembles Jane Austen who studied and reproduced at first hand life unmingled with exceptional interests and incidents. We need hardly add that Ma E Kin has not the inimitable touch, tone and temper of Miss Austen who stands unrivalled within her own limits. But her place in the evolution of the Burmese Novel is in some respects similar to that occupied by Miss Austen in the history of English fiction.

She wrote to please her best self and in pleasing her best self she pleases others. Her novel brings home afresh to our bosoms a sense of human futi-

† The significance is this:—A man's measure can be taken from his manners.

‡ A three-stringed crocodile-shaped instrument.

lity, human frailty and human fraternity. As we lay it aside, we linger over it and think to read it again. Full surely this is well-nigh a proof that it can defy the touch of time.

BA HAN.

THE WAY TO NIRVĀNA.

BY L. DE LA VALEE POUSSIN.

This is a series of six lectures on Ancient Buddhism as a Discipline of Salvation delivered at Oxford by a well-known Buddhist scholar, the author of an earlier work *Bouddhisme* (Paris 1909). In the present book the lecturer adopts less the attitude of the exponent than of the critic. His criticisms attain a high standard of rationalism and will do more good for the elucidation of the Buddhist religion than the complacent assertions of many a historian. They generally take the form of statements of inconsistencies that his keen intellect has discovered in the Doctrines of the Buddha. Some of these "flagrant contradictions" deserve the censure of the author, as judged by our present state of knowledge. His remarks on the transfer of merit are just: "merit is strictly personal," yet it "is something that can be given by one individual to another," as shown in the making of gifts to the living for the benefit of the dead. The whole question turns on the merit that is supposed to be given by one individual to another and if merit be actually thus given the contradiction is flagrant indeed. And we have not met with a satisfactory explanation.

The last sentence on page 97, concerning one's series of thoughts deserves credit for its suggestion. At times in spite of his "best will in the world," the author allows himself to be carried away by his sense of ridicule, as when, examining the point that the being who is reborn is neither the same nor different from the old one, he says, "that seems a queer statement, but, in the words of the Brahman when explaining intricate mysteries to his wife, 'we are not to be perplexed at the statement, it is really very simple.' In any case it is quite Buddhistic" (p. 51). Yet on the following page he has no difficulty in concluding with the Buddhists: "If we consider a man at two different moments of his present life, it is safe to say that he is not the same; but is it not equally evident that he has not another?" *It is really very simple!*

Another contradiction "no less striking and happy" (p. 98) *to wit*, that whereas the path to deliverance is open to everybody and people will be delivered or not according to their dispositions, the Buddha still looks twice every day with his 'eye of a Buddha' in order to see whether he can help some of his fellow creatures is quite logical. For is it not the very condition of those who have the 'root of merit' that they must be delivered through the preaching of the Buddha? And is it not for the sake of saving mankind that the Buddha was reborn from Tusita Heaven? Those who by virtue of their evil karma are beyond salvation are, of course, not delivered.

Much care has been taken by the author on the demonstration of what is to him "a riddle," "a flagrant contradiction," (p. 47):—On the one hand a careful study of the texts "forces upon us the conclusion that there is no self;" on the other hand, "the very text which emphasizes the mobility and the unsubstantiality of 'what is called mind, thought, consciousness' explains that man looks upon his mind, thought and consciousness as a self, because from the beginning of ages, he is accustomed to cherish his mind, thought and consciousness as his self." Unfortunately, this would-be contradiction is not tenable, for to regard the mind, thought and consciousness as the self is a heresy, which the Buddha himself has included among the famous sixty-two heresies that form the subject of the *Brahmajāla Sutta*.

But these blemishes, which are few in number, fades before the real merits of the book. One merit lies in its historical setting. Chapter I, gives an account of the Evolution of Gods and the effect on them of the ideas of self and transmigration which were budding in the Indian mind and which paved the way for asceticism. To the list of Indian words conveying a religious meaning, we would add *sāsana*, which is common in Pali. In the 2nd chapter the author insists on the rationalism of Buddhism and says that "the sort of soul that Buddhists recognize is a living complex, a continuous fluid complex, both bodily and mental, a person, which in fact, possesses nearly all the characters of a soul as we understand the word." We understand this definition to refer to the continuously changing series of the states of consciousness which constitute reality in the ultimate sense. The 3rd chapter gives an able study of the Law of Karma under its two aspects of volition and what is born of volition. Much stress is laid on the point that the Buddhists did not discover Karma but that they were among the first to give a reasonable and moral definition of it. The note on p. 69 tells us that it is a Jain doctrine that Nāgasena refers to, when he explains by the simile of the fire that unconscious sin is more heavy than conscious sin. Chapter IV, explains how the theories of Cosmogony and Theogony evolved out of the doctrine of Karma. Chapter V, is devoted to Nirvāṇa. The author agrees with the scholars who look upon Nirvāṇa as annihilation but prefers to side with the Buddha and calls it "unqualified deliverance," merely pointing out that the annihilation of the scholars "is the result of the philosophical inquiry, a mere scholastic inquiry, a mere scholastic corollary." Since neither he nor the Buddha would tell us definitely what this "unqualified deliverance" or Nirvāṇa is, the question remains as unsettled as before. To tell us that the notion of annihilation was not an 'original purpose' of Buddhism does credit merely to the author's historical acumen. The parallel instituted between the Vedāntist discipline of Sotāpanna's who are allowed seven or less new existences to complete their sanctification is worthy of note. The last chapter is on the Path to Nirvāṇa. It is characteristic of the author's critical attitude that he should treat of the practice of trances and of the three-fold training (by faith, insight and culture) rather than the more indispensable and better known factors of the Noble Eight-fold Path and the Four Ariyan Truths or Facts.

For ourselves, we agree with the Burmese monks who maintain that Nirvāṇa does not mean annihilation, non-existence in the sense that Nirvāṇa

itself is annihilated and is non-existent. We believe that Nirvāṇa is in the *paramattha* sense of ultimate philosophy an *asaṅkhata dhamma* i. e. a thing which is not conditioned as are the complexes of this world, such for instance as the aggregates of our own body. This unconditioned Nirvāṇa is reality which exists; and inasmuch as it is only in Nirvāṇa that passions and other intoxicants come to an end, are *annihilated*, it may be called annihilated by concession. But in the strictest sense passions are annihilated in Nirvāṇa without any more appearing and Nirvāṇa exists in the *paramattha* sense of the non-arising, non-production of sins and aggregates that would otherwise have arisen and been produced. We regret that space does not allow of quotations from the Pāli in support of this view of Nirvāṇa.

On the whole, we think that the book has been very ably written and is a valuable addition to our stock of knowledge. From the nature of its criticisms, it will be less profitable to students than to orthodox Buddhists and Buddhist scholars, who will find it necessary to contemplate the many crucial points raised. To do justice to the author his last sentence, which is equally applicable to the present reviewer himself, should not be overlooked:—"I am not prepared to say that I am a Buddhist, and moreover it is too late to take the pabbajjā under Sāriputta; but I have spared no pains to think and to feel as did the 'yellow-robed monks,' who have rendered so eminent services, not to mankind as a whole, but to India, to China, to the Far East."

Editor.

THE STONE SCULPTURES IN ANANDA TEMPLE AT PAGAN.

(Archaeological Report 1913-14.)

BY CHAS. DUROISELLE.

Mr. Duroiselle has written an excellent paper on the Stone Sculptures in the Ananda Temple at Pagan, a paper which is of the same type as the other one of his on the Pictorial Representation of Jātakas in Burma in the Report of the preceding year. The Ananda is unique for its stone sculptures, representing the various incidents of the Buddha's life so faithfully as to form quite a connected account in themselves. What biographers have written in the form of books, the artists of the Ananda have depicted in the form of stone sculptures. One, who is well-versed in the legend of the Buddha's life would find these sculptures full of interest, while to the faithful they are living symbols of worship. And what Mr. Duroiselle has done is to make them as interesting to the general reader, who, however, must be equipped with a considerable amount of Buddhist lore and eminently endowed with Buddhist sympathies.

According to Mr. Duroiselle these sculptures are late mediæval and were the work of Indian artists. Some of the mediæval characteristics seen in them are rigid conventionality and lack of originality. They are not the works of artists but of clever imitators of the type of sculpture familiar in

India since the 7th century. Perhaps the most striking defect is the want of symmetry in the figures of the scenes. The general tendency which gives rise to this defect and which has been noticed by Mr. Duroiselle is to make the central figure or the hero so abnormally big as to be out of all proportions to his surroundings. Thus regarding figure 31 Mr. Duroiselle says, "The strange device of exaggerating the size of the principal figure in a scene, is here carried to the point of absurdity. Kanthaka, a horse said to be of gigantic proportions comes up only to the Bodhisattva's knee and is even some-what smaller than Channa kneeling." But in this scene the horse by its presence serves but as a label to distinguish the scene from similar scenes, just as one might label different medicines in similar bottles. Where it forms an integral member as in figure 33, which represents the Bodhisattva on horse-back, it receives due attention, so that it is executed with greater magnificance than the noble rider himself. Generally, however, the figures are devoid of the artistic touch and some are executed with such a prosaic effect, destitute of realism that Mr. Duroiselle is in disagreement with the writer of the Burmese explanations as to the identity of the very first scene.

The Ananda was built by Kyanzittha of Pagan (1084—1112 A. D.) Any visitor will see that it deserves the celebrity it enjoys. Mr. Duroiselle gives an interesting account of the building and enters into some discussions about the origin of the name, making a good use of the Burmese sources—for instance the *Jinathapākāsīnī*—of the Buddhist legends. We should like to point out that the wording of Note I, on page 72 regarding the Burmese female dress fails to convey the meaning intended. It is to be hoped that this useful article will be printed as a separate monograph so as to be more easily available by visitors to Pagan than it is in the pages of the archæological Report.

—Editor.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

Minutes of a meeting of the Committee at Rangoon College, 20th June, 1917.

PRESENT.

M. Hunter, Esqr., *President (in the Chair.)*

J. T. Best, Esqr., <i>Vice-President,</i>	|	Dr. G. R. T. Ross,
L. F. Taylor, Esqr.,	|	Prof. Maung Tin, <i>Hony. Editor,</i>

Prof. W. G. Fraser, *Hony. Secretary.*

1. The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.
2. The Chairman read a report by the Hony. Treasurer on the finances of the Society.

After some discussion it was resolved—

- (a) That the operation of Rule 9 for years 1916 and 1917 should be suspended.
 - (b) That Reminders of subscriptions due for 1916 and 1917 should be sent out in the usual form.
 - (c) That the April issue of the Journal, just published, should for the present be sent only to members who have paid the subscriptions for the year 1916.
 - (d) That when other members have paid up arrears for 1916 and 1917, the Journal should be sent to them.
 - (e) That no effort be made to recover arrears of subscriptions due previous to the year 1916.
 - (f) That the Hony. Treasurer should assume that payments of subscriptions made in 1916 were for the year 1916 and not for any previous year.
 - (g) That in the case of members still on the register who had not paid subscriptions for several years and had not received the Journal, such members should receive back numbers of the Journal for 1916 and 1917, when they have paid the subscriptions for 1916 and 1917.
3. Resolved that the practice of charging only half the annual subscription for the first year to members elected in the latter half of the year had no authority and should be discontinued. Such members must pay the full annual subscription and are entitled to back numbers of the Journal for the year of their election.

4. Read a letter from the Hony. Editor requesting a permanent advance of Rs. 50|-.
Agreed.

5. Considered a letter* from the Secretary to Government regarding a request for books for the School of Oriental Studies, London.

* The letter is published herewith for the information of the Members.—*Editor.*

Resolved—(a) to inform the Secretary to Government (1) that the Society will present to the School a complete set of the Society's Journal and will continue to send the Journal as issued, and (2) that the Society will make it known among its members that the School desires contributions in money or books, the Society itself being unable to send books as it has no library of its own at present.

(b) that as the Educational Syndicate is known to be undertaking to supply books, any further effort on the part of the Society to obtain them would cover the same ground and was therefore unnecessary.

6. Read a letter from Mr. G. Harvey, Kalaw, suggesting that articles in the Journal should be printed in Burmese as well as in English.

Resolved—(a) that a translation into English or a resume in English of articles in Burmese should be prepared by the Hon'y. Editor and printed with the original articles.

(b) that it is at present impracticable to translate articles in English into Burmese.

(c) that Mr. Harvey should be informed accordingly.

7. Elected the following Sub-Committee:—

Mr. Hunter, *President*,
Mr. J. T. Best, *Vice-President*,
Prof. Maung Tin, *Hony. Editor*,
U May Oung,
Prof. Fraser, *Hony. Secy. and Treasurer*.

Approved.

(Sd.) M. HUNTER,
President.
22nd June, 1917.

W. G. FRASER,
Honorary Secretary.
21st June, 1917.

Extracts from letter dated the 13th January, 1917, from Dr. Denison Ross, Ph.D., C. I. E., Director of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution, London, to the Hon'ble Sir Spencer Harcourt Butler, K. C. S. I., C. I. E., I. C. S., Lieutenant-Governor of Burma.

I expect the news of my appointment as Director of this School will have reached you in Burmah, and I know you will realise how pleased I am to get this appointment, as you were aware that one of my reasons for deserting India was to be on the spot when the appointment was being made.

* * * * *

Burmese is to be one of the features of our School, also Pali, and I wish to feel that the School has your sympathy and also the sympathy of your Province.

We receive a handsome Grant from the Treasury and £ 1,250 per annum from the India Office, but it has been the policy of those who are responsible

for the institution of the School to depend in part on financial support from the general public, and therefore we are actively engaged in begging.

The City Companies are behaving very generously in spite of the many calls made on them in connection with the War, but we need a great deal more support before we can obtain the Staff necessary to bring this School up to the desired level of efficiency.

Sir John Hewett, our Chairman, has hitherto not thought fit to make any appeal to the ruling Princes and Chiefs of India, but large firms trading in and with the East are being appealed to, and it occurred to me that you might be disposed to try and arouse interest in this important national undertaking which must affect the whole of our future relations with the East and obtain from the people of Burmah some response to our appeal.

Pious Buddhists might even feel disposed to contribute books to our Library.

In any case I thought it would be all for the advantage of the School if, in view of the fact that we provide instruction in Buddhism, Pali and Burmese, the leaders of light and learning in Burmah were made aware of this incident.

PROPOSALS.

On the April 13th the following proposals were made by Mr. J. S. Furnivall, *Vice-President*:—

(1) That the funds of the Society should be invested in the Indian War Loan.

(2) That a letter and circular should be sent to ordinary members of the Society, with the object of increasing the number of Life Members and at the same time helping to swell the total of the Indian War Loan.

(3) That the letter and circular should be submitted to non-members whose names appeared in the Civil List, along with an explanatory letter.

As a result of these proposals, the funds of the Society have been invested in the War Loan. Letters were printed and sent to members and non-members in accordance with proposals (2) and (3). Of these letters copies are annexed.

A report of the action taken in this matter has been submitted to the committee and approved.

Letter to Ordinary Members.

BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

BERNARD FREE LIBRARY,

Rangoon, 12th May, 1917.

LIFE MEMBERSHIP AND THE WAR LOAN.

SIR,

In view of the present necessity for all of us to exercise the greatest personal economy and to place all our resources at the disposal of Govern-

ment, I would invite your attention to a proposal by which, as members of our Society, we may co-operate in raising funds for Government and at the same time reduce our individual expenditure.

The Bye-laws permit of composition for the annual subscription of Rs. 15/- by a single payment of Rs. 150/- conferring life-membership. It has been suggested that at the present time many people would prefer to compound for their subscriptions and become life members if they could be certain that the premium of Rs. 150/- for life membership would be invested in the War Loan. Payment could actually be made in War Bonds or in Post Office Certificates, or the cheque could be accompanied by a request that the money should be invested in this manner. I need hardly point out that members adopting this course would in the long run effect a considerable saving.

It is possible, however, that you may have felt some doubts whether under present conditions a subscription to a Society such as ours represents a justifiable item of expenditure. If that should be the case I would ask you to remember that our Society is, in a modest way, a visible expression of those ideals for which we are now fighting, and, as such, is not unworthy of support. But any such doubts should finally be set at rest by the proposal which I now lay before you, and I would ask you, therefore, to fill up the enclosed form and return it to me at an early date.

Yours faithfully,
W. G. FRASER,
Hon'y. Secretary.

Letter to Non-Members.

BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY,

Patron.

HIS HONOUR SIR HARCOURT BUTLER, K. C. S. I.,
Lieutenant-Governor of Burma.

President:

M. HUNTER, Esq., C. I. E.

Vice-Presidents:

J. T. BEST, Esq.
J. S. FURNIVALL, Esq.
U HPAY, K. S. M., A. T. M.

Hony. Secretary and Treasurer:

PROF. W. G. FRASER.

Hony. Editor:

PROF. MAUNG TIN.

BERNARD FREE LIBRARY,

Rangoon, May, 1917.

LIFE MEMBERSHIP AND THE WAR LOAN.

SIR,

As you are not yet a member of the Burma Research Society may I invite your attention to a proposal by which you may become a Life Member of the Society and at the same time help to swell the total of the War Loan? I enclose copies of a letter and circular in which the proposal is detailed. If you decide to become a member of the Society on these terms, I shall be glad to be informed as early as possible when I shall have much pleasure in placing your name before the Committee for election.

The objects of the Burma Research Society are as follows:—

- (a) The study and encouragement of Art, Science and Literature in relation to Burma.
- (b) The promotion of intercourse between members of different communities with an interest in such objects.

Meetings are held at which papers are read and a journal is published, a copy of which is sent free to all members. The journal, three numbers of which are usually published yearly, contains articles on the history, language, literature, ethnology and folk-lore of Burma.

•

I am, Sir,

Yours faithfully,

W. G. FRASER,

Hony. Secretary.

MEMBERSHIP.

The following is a list of new members:—

R. A. Cochrane, Esq., Burma Forest School, Pyinmana, (Life Member).

G. Harvey, Esq., I. C. S., Kalaw.

L. M. G. Tripp, Esq., Thazi.

Mg. Boon Swan, Township Officer, Wakema, (Life Member).

Mg. Thein Maung, Township Officer, Taungthu, (Life Member).

U Po Chit, A. T. M., Kyaukpadaung, (Life Member).

Mg. Po Hlaing, Township Officer, Saw, (Life Member).

W. G. FRASER,

Hony. Secretary.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

RECEIVED SINCE APRIL 1917, Vol. VII, Part I.

Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1913-14,
edited by Sir John Marshall.

Journal of the East India Association, Vol. VIII, No. 2 April, 1917.

**Journal Asiatique re cueil de Memoires et de Notices relatifs aux
études orientales publié par la société Asiatique, Nos. 1, 2 and 3**

Haka Chin Customs, by W. R. Herd.

Journal of the East India Association, New series, April, 1917.

Indian Antiquary—A Journal of Oriental Research, February, 1917.

**Report of the Committee appointed to ascertain and advise how
The Imperial Idea may be inculcated and fostered in Schools
and Colleges in Burma, 1917.**

**Bijāpur and its Architectural Remains, with an historical outline
of the Ādil Shāhi Dynasty, by H. Cousens, (1916.)**

Hampi Ruins, described and illustrated, by A. H. Longhurst, (1917.)

LIK SMIN ASAH*

It was in the beginning of 1912 on the occasion of my last visit to Burma that I first came across this work. I was chatting with an old Mon Copyist about Mon books, at Ye in the Amherst District, when he told me of a fine work he had recently copied. He spoke of it with great enthusiasm and advised me to approach the possessor of the original copy and get a look at it. I therefore went over to see the superior of the Abaw monastery, from whom I had occasionally borrowed books before, and he at once gave me permission to take the book home and keep it long enough to read and copy it. I fully appreciate the advantage of having access to such a collection of Mon Manuscripts as there now seems to be at the Bernard Free Library. I have had considerable experience in seeking for particular works and in borrowing any that offered and whilst I have met with a number of monks who have been quite ready to lend me books from the monastery library, I must say that I have not always found it plain sailing. The monk at Abaw was one of those who often wanted to give me what he chose rather than what I wanted. Still on the occasion in question he very readily consented to let me have his copy of Lik Smin Asah.

Later I had a copy made from my own and sent on to Mr. C. O. Blagden who was asking for copies of Mon books. When I met him in Scotland last summer he urged me to offer the work for publication with an English translation and Vocabulary of unexplained words.

The present paper is intended to give some idea of the book and afford an example of what may be accomplished by its publication. There is a dearth of suitable Mon texts for the study of the language, as has been shown in the pages of this Journal. Lists have been given both of the printed texts and of the manuscripts available.† In most cases the printed texts are unaccompanied by English translations and vocabulary of words either not given or insufficiently defined in Haswell's Vocabulary.

Now that the Mon inscriptions of Burma are being deciphered and translated it is important that as much of the literature as possible should be brought to light and words and idioms explained. In the literature generally the language is in a much more easily explained form than in the inscriptions. The latter in fact can only be interpreted by continual reference to the former. It need hardly be pointed out to readers of this Journal that this is more necessary with a language like Mon which is that of a dead literature rather than of a living one such as for instance Burmese which is spoken alongside of it in Burma or Siamese which is heard everywhere by its side in Siam.

Lik Smin Asah has the advantage of being an original native work on a historical subject using the old literary language. There are a great many words used which are not at all common, but which it is very necessary to

* The text of which Mr. Halliday here gives the translation forms only a small portion of a larger work possessed by the Bernard Free Library, Rangoon.—*Editor*.

† See Mr. Duroiselle's paper on "Talaing Nissayas" Vol. III, Part II.

Furthermore, a date nearer the fall of Thaton fits in better with the other circumstances of the early story of Pegu. It was in the reign of Ajinnarājā [အဓိနရဇာ] king of Thaton that the brothers Samala and Wimala set out to build a city on the site of Pegu. They went from Thaton but it is doubtful if they were sons of that king as Phayre has assumed. Their father's name is given as Sinagaṅgā [သိနဂင်္ဂ] There is no doubt of some confusion of names in the various stories of Thaton of that period. Mr. Cooper in his paper on the origin of the name Talaing in Vol. III, Part I, of this Journal has Ajinnagaṅgā အဓိနဂင်္ဂ an apparent confusion of the two names. I have no doubt that the same king of Thaton is referred to. The name Ajinnarājā appears variously as အဓိနရဇာ, အဓိနရဇာ, အဓိနရဇာ and Phayre has Aminna Rádyá [အဓိနရဇာ] for the same ruler in his list of kings of Thaton.* In the poem it appears first as ဝိနရဇာနိ for Windarājā and later as ဓိနရဇာ. The latter is simply shortened for rhythmical purposes and the first form has no doubt come about by slips of the pen,— ဓိ ဓိ ဓိ are easily confused when letters are not clear on the palm leaf. This king was the last but one before Manuha and is said to have reigned thirty-seven years. His successor, the father and predecessor of Manuha is said to have reigned thirty years. So that sixty years before the fall of Thaton could easily fall in the reign of Ajinnarājā.

Again if it is known that an attack was made on Pegu by an army from South India about that time, this later date for the founding of Pegu and the dynasty beginning with Samala and Wimala would further agree with other facts recorded in Mon books. It is said that Indians first came from the city of Vidyānagarāṁ [ဝိညာနဂရံ in the poem ဝိညာနဂရံ] as merchants. Again when Samala and Wimala were about to build the city Indians from Vidyānagarāṁ laid claim to the ground in the name of their king. Further during the reign of Wimala who had succeeded his brother an army from Southern India menaced the city and it was from this impending danger that Asah the nephew of Wimala saved the state. He is for that reason given the name of Satrujina သတ္တုဓိန. Since Samala and Wimala reigned each a dozen years according to the books and the Indian attack seems to have been in the later years of the latter, if 1556 A. B.=1013 A.D. be taken as an approximate date for the founding of Pegu, it follows that the Indian invasion occurred somewhere in the first half of the eleventh century.†

What, however, is to be said of the 504 given as the year of the common era? This would give 1142 A. D. which would be more than a century out. In a short history of the kings of Thaton and Pegu consisting of fifty three pages of palm-leaf manuscript and printed in the volume entitled ဓမ္မဇေတီ [Dhammaceti] the date of the founding of Pegu is not mentioned, but the date given for the death of Samala twelve years later is 516. Other dates are also given agreeing with 504 for the founding of Pegu. These

* Phayre's History of Burma, Appendix B. p. 288.

† There is the obvious difficulty of the name of the Indian city, since Vijayanagar did not become the capital of a Hindu kingdom till the following century. Such an anachronism is quite in keeping with the methods of Mon writers.

dates are all given as ခုင်သက္ကတရာ *Sakkarat Dui* (common era) and there is nothing to indicate that they are in a different era from those of later history. Thus 649=1287 A. D. is the date given for the founding of the Martaban dynasty under Warero.

In the same work the dates for the fall of Thaton in the two eras show a discrepancy, but they seem to point to something nearer the actual time. For the year of the religion 1600 is given and 412 apparently (the middle figure has dropped out) for the common era. In the Gavampati book as printed in the Rājādhirāt volume 1176 is given as the year of the religion and 564 for the common era. The corresponding dates for the founding of Pegu are 1116 and 504. It will be seen that for these early dates mere figures are hopeless.

In a paper on Burmese Chronology in Vol. II, Part I, of this Journal Maung May Oung gives 825 A. D. for the founding of Pegu, from a Burmese source I take it. A passage in Gavampati giving a short summary of the kings of Pegu gives 1116 in the year of the religion for the founding of Pegu; 150 years as the time during which the first dynasty reigned; and distinctly states that Pegu was a waste for 564 years. I am inclined to regard this as an interpolation inserted to explain the discrepancy in years. From a perusal of the various documents it seems to me that there is no such interval of silence in the history of Pegu. There was apparently an interval when there were Burmese Governors sent down from Pagan during the reigns of Anorathā and his successors, until in the reign of Alaungsithu Warero established Mon predominance in Lower Burma. The three last Burmese Governors of the period apparently set up an independence and are recognised as kings in the Mon histories.

To return to our story, however, there is much to be found therein which does not occur in the historical sketches. It is part of the author's elaboration of his material. There is no doubt a good deal that floats about in tradition which has never been recorded in actual history. There are differences to be found in the various versions of the story of Samala and Wimala, of Bhadradevin the pious queen of Tissarājā the seventeenth and last king of the first Hamsāvati dynasty, as there are different versions of the story of Magadu, the trader who rose to be king in Martaban. It is always interesting to watch these differences in the tradition and we may look on Lik Smin Asah as exhibiting a variety of the tradition that clings to the name of Asah Kummā. Events must have taken place in his time which have impressed themselves on the generations following.

The proposal is to publish the text as in the examples here given; to follow that with a literal prose translation and to give a vocabulary of words either not found or not sufficiently defined in Haswell.

R. HALLIDAY.

INTRODUCTION.

တြိရတဏံအဟံဝဒ္ဓာမိ။ ဇေယျံပိရိပိတိဒိကံပဝတိပိဝါ။ ပတနိသုဗြုတ်ပွဲမိတ်လျှင်ကာ။ နန္ဒ
သာရပုဒ်ခံတနိတ်ပွဲဘာ။ ဗျုတ်လောနိကုင်ဘိက္ခု၊ သင်ဇရာ။ ကောဘိက္ခု၊ ဗြုကုင်တူသဒင်ဗြီကွာ။

SAMALA'S COMPLAINT.

INTRODUCTION.

* A line of eight syllables has dropped out of this stanza.

I desire to reflect and compose a work of which there is no Mon version. The story of Asah it may be said has been made the subject of theatricals amongst the Burmese. The people of the bazaar know the language easily understood. That it may be according to one's mind there must be periods, letters and system. Only those accustomed to writing know all the rules. The rules as they are set forth are according to the periods. Nanda will compose and fix the precious arrangement. The story of Asah has become corrupted and the Mon version lost entirely. I will translate from the Burmese and compose a poetical version of the Mon work which has become corrupted and the original obscured, so that it may be handed down and distributed in the Mon tongue. Of the three languages Mon is the earliest. I will perform a good deed and compose a version on palm leaf, in order that these three tribes may have it in one language. I will compose it and set it forth to the three tribes of Mons anew.

Shall not Nanda the aged monk translate and furnish a Mon version? Purifying my conscience in a faithful right conduct, I will make a sacred candle like to a crown. Setting it on the altars of my brow I will not allow it to fall away from the upright at all. The Buddha, the Truth, and the Saṅgha, the three precious things, these are the most excellent. I will worship and set them on high taking pleasure therein. As the fruit of my worship of the three most excellent gems let misery be distant from me ten times ten thousand, yea, a hundred thousand thousand [times]. Let it cause misery to melt away and come to utter extinction.

In accordance with the virtues of the three gems which are indeed most excellent I will worship ever afterwards without fail. I will set forth the matter and arrange in a complete work, in accordance with the rules of verse, according to the standards of literature. There will again be a work in the country of the Mons, in the territory of Hamsāvati. To set forth the name of the book, Lik Smin Asah it is fitly called in the Mon language. This is the name given by the author, who is of the company of the superior. Nanda is his name, a self restraining one. The work will be composed and will stand as a memorial pillar. It will enable every man in the land to understand knowledge, in the land which was once Hamsāvati. It is the accumulation of virtue and is called Lik Asah.

INVOCATION.

I reverence again Sakya Buddha, with the *Krisiho* the world protector, the three lions of fame; the seven dragons; Vishnu excellent in merit of the five places; the excellent Yakkha who is one; the rishis set forth as nine in the beginning; Indra of the sky who lords it over the world; the four regents first; then to the six heavens; the fruit of my reverencing the five Brahmas; the eight again who are the arahants; the moon and the sun; the five Buddhas of one kalpa. I will raise my hands exalting them in reverence. These

five occupy one sole position.* I recognise the conditions of the period, the groups of consonants, the vowels, and the subscript letters. These are to be arranged in one continuous chain. From the beginning of the world they have come in uninterrupted succession, from the Buddha of former times, Tikkha of the religion. I humble my mind to Maha Tikkhagga,† that I may discourse on the origins, that I may join up the letters of the alphabet—the thirty two consonants with their vowels. The Lord Buddha has enlightened us on the use of the letters.

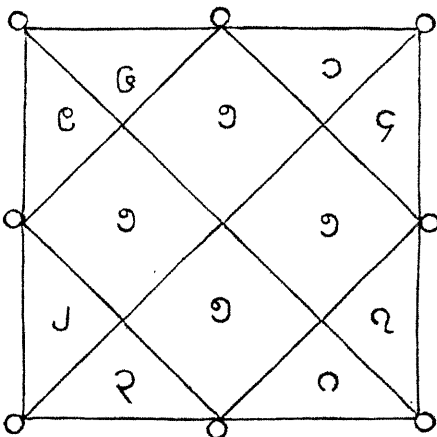
I come to the merits of the four kinds of authors. The poet of the imagination has varied methods; the poet of tradition excels in accomplishment; the improvisatore is the original poet; the poet of real life is of excellent merit. With these four kinds of authorship I will make a palm leaf manuscript. I will compose a literary work with these four. Shall I not exalt their names?

I will bend the knee and reverently place my hands upon my head; I will bow to the ground and make the three reverences. I will set forth the duties of men and direct the will. I shall attain to a calm state of mind by the practice of the faith. I reverence the Buddha in his nine attributes, infinite, boundless. I reverence the truth in its nine divisions. I reverence the fraternity of the holy ones. I worship the eighty every day. To my parents and my teachers I pay my respects with many flowers. With the three

* These are all superhuman beings recognised by the Mons as in a position to bless their efforts and protect their interests. The Pali names and numbers are preserved in verse and are used in the construction of a magical diagram, considered of great merit, on certain occasions. At the building of a house it is stuck up on the wall, and again at a woman's confinement it is put up on all four sides of the house. It is also used as an amulet. The formula runs thus:—

ကြိသိဟောသတ္တနာဂေါ။ ပဉ္စဗိသုစတုဒေဝေါ။ ဆဘဿရပဉ္စဗုဒ္ဓါ။ ဧကယက္ခနဝဒေဝါ။ ပဉ္စဗြဟ္မာဒ္ဒေဝရာဂါ။ အတုရဟန္တာပဉ္စဗုဒ္ဓါ။

Kri siho, sattanāgo, pañca Bisnu, catudevo, chabhassara, pañca Indrā, ekayakkha, navadevā, pañca Brahmā, dvevarājā, aṭṭha rahantā, pañca Buddhā.



Magical diagram constructed with the formula give above, the numbers representing the personages named.

† တိက္ခ (Pali tikkho sharp; clever) and တိက္ခဂ္ဂ (tikkho and aggo) are names variously given to a very early Buddha, who according to the Mon work မူလမူလိ Mula Muli, first gave men the alphabet. See Vol. II, Part II, p. 223 of this Journal; also Monograph on the Talaings, Section on Literature.

avenues I make my reverence, both worshipping and making offerings. I lift my hands again in dutiful homage.

Now and in time to come let me prosper in wisdom and understanding. Let me be filled with the merits of the poet of imagination, of tradition, of real life; let me not come short. Help me, come to my aid; as a reward for composing this poem using the consonants and other letters, fifty and one, afford me surpassing intelligence. Help me in the evening; watch over me; keep me nightly with surpassing care.

Vishnu, Vināyaka, self existent Brahma, Sri, Īsāna, Sindarahu* Lord of the world, disc of gold, disc of silver, golden light disc clear and bright, luminous in the sky, lord of the rising orb, glory of the world, I reverence you; I lift my hands exalting you. I bend my heart satisfied and raise you in reverence; with the six heavens ranged one over the other, the sixteen Brahmaloḥas of the Brahmadevas, up to Akaniṭṭhā of the great devas. I exalt the devas truly.

Nor of the lower world do I make a difference. Chief of asuras, lord of might, who have dominion over the underworld, after the same manner as it is in the heavens, I lift my hands in reverence. With the three dvāras I worship you in your own domain. I lift my ten fingers investigating right and left. In the bowels of the earth to right and left I lift my hands offering to you.

SAMALA'S COMPLAINT.

Why does the beautiful maiden not love me? Because I take great delight in Suvāṇṇa I have come on foot walking in sandals. Why will the beautiful maiden not see me? Will you not think of me since I have come on foot?

To keep out of my way is the manner of the jungle. It is the way of the Karens who hunt the frog. When you have examined the matter, speak to my heart. Will you not think just a little of me?

O mi Vaṇṇa of glorious form, though you be a Karen, not rejecting a heart, in the great forest, look upon me. Will you not think of me who have come on foot?

O Golden Gourd, as the moon in radiance, speak to me again in loud asides. I yield my life, will you not think of me?

Pure gold as the manner of the Sun is, Rahu would darken the world. Will the beautiful maiden shine upon me? Will the golden gourd not illuminate me?

Free me, my love, from the dart though it binds me to you. The dart of the beautiful maiden is like fire, a dart of fire it burns with pain. Why does the maid of happiness not think of me?

O precious refuge, who are the only object my eyes behold, my heart burns away as the woods are burned by the hunter. Why does the lovely maiden not come to my help? Does she not think of the fire of passion?

* This may be a mistake for Indarahu though even then I do not understand the form. The words which follow, ၁၃၈၈ would seem to indicate Indra.

Why does she not put out the fire and cool my heart? The fire burns and spreads, the burning fire. My heart is a waste O sweet love. Extinguish the fire in my breast, in my body, will you?

When I had only heard the report of you, I came stepping on my feet all the way. Though I had not seen your form yet I understood. If I could see you I should be free from anxiety. O sweet love can I not see you?

I have come stepping forth leaping in the water. Seeking a look at the pretty one, I have been bewildered and have fallen. Dear heart, my pretty one how can I find you to take you away. Her bosom rises, heaving; her brow is a beautiful vase; her eyebrows well matched. With the blossom of the moon when it first appears, how can I gain them?

အရူ၊ အရူ၊ (Pali) *adj.* great.

အဂ္ဂိ၊ (Pali) *n.* fire.

အရူ၊ for အဂ္ဂိ၊ fire.

အင်္ဂ၊ (Pali) a division of the Buddhist scriptures, အင်္ဂါ for *navāṅgaṃ* the nine aṅgas.

အဋ္ဌင်၊ *n.* manner, *a.* like ညဋ္ဌင်အောင်ကိုင် like a crown.

အဇ၊ *n.* manner, *a.* like,

အဓိန္ဒြိယ၊ (Pali acintiyā) infinite, an attribute of the Buddha.

အာတ္တ၊ (Pali) *n.* substance အာတ္တကဗျ၊ poet of real life.

အနီ၊ *adv.* truly.

အပ္ပမေယ၊ (Pali appameyya), *a.* unlimited, boundless.

အပူ၊ I am told that this word implies a comparison with some kind of pot or vase, နှင်အပူ၊

အယော၊ *n.* honour.

အဝတိ၊ *n.* duty; conduct.

အသီတိ၊ (Pali) eighty—the eighty disciples?

အသုရိန္ဒ၊ *n.* Chief of the Asuras.

အိန္ဒြိယ၊ (Pali, indakhīlo), *n.* a post or pillar at city gate, အတ္တိဆူလုကံ

အိန္ဒြိယ၊ (Sans. and Pali, *indriya*) power, honour; vigour အတ္တိဆူလုကံ, one who has control of the passions.

ဥဒေ၊ (Pali, *udeti*) to rise, နှစ်ဦးဥဒေ the sun (personified).

ဥရုယော၊ ဥရုယံ၊ (Pali, *uro* and *hadayaṃ*), *n.* bosom.

က

ကင်္ဂေ၊ *v.* to be dried up; to be devoid of.

ကနိစ္ဆာ၊ *n.* Akanitṭhā the highest of the Brahma lokas.

ကောနုကု၊ *n.* persons of good family (*kulaputto*).

ကံ၊ *n.* missile, bolt.

ကံ၊ *n.* missile, bolt.

ကွက်၊ *v.* to hang, to suspend, *n.* that which is suspended, a suspended consonant.

ကွန်၊ *n.* kingdom, realm.

တြိ၊ (Sans *tri*) for တြိ *num.* three. It occurs in such compounds as are found in the poem. တြိရာတိ the three gems တြိသိယော three lions. Elsewhere it occurs in တြိက္ခတု the three acrid things တြိဖု three fruits.

ကျင်းအောနိ, *v.* to become less.

ကွဲ, *v.* to present, *n.* a present.

ကျိ, pronounced ကဝိ, (Pali), *n.* a poet.

ကျိပနိ, the four kinds of poets. In the invocation they are given as မိန္ဒာကျိ the poet of the imagination, သောတာကျိ the poet of tradition ပတိတာနကျိ the improvisatore, ဃာနကျိ (the usual form is အတ္တကျိ) the poet of real life. See Childers Dict. article kavi. Our author has မိန္ဒာသုတအတ္တကျိ in a line further on.

ကျိဆန္ဒ, *n.* an author.

ကျေတ်, *n.* custom, rule (=Pali samayo).

ခ

ခေုင်, *v.* to pursue, chase, ဝေုင်.

ခရာ, *v.* to be apart, *n.* the being apart, distance.

ခရိ, *n.* name of the symbol for the vowel ခ, *i* written as in this word ဝ.

I take ခရိက္ခတ် to mean the vowels and subscript letters generally.

ခတ်, *v.* to call, name.

ခတ်လပ်, *v.* to be named.

ချပ်ပြင်, *v.* to originate ideas, ချပ် to consider, ပြင် to comprehend.

ခြပ်ခြီး, *v.* to be distressed, also ခြီးခြပ်.

စိုင်း, *v.* to glow, shine.

စွန့်, *v.* to leave, to set aside, တွဲပွဲစွန့် *i. e.* every day.

ဂ

ဂန္ဓိ, for ခန္ဓ (Pali) the body.

ဂီလုပိ, *v.* to step into, ဂီလုပိအာ to have entered.

ဂီတ, *n.* month, Haswell has ဂတ but ဂီတ is the usual form in the books.

ဂန္ဓနာ, poetical form for ဂန္ဓ.

ရွှင်, *v.* to be anxious, *n.* anxiety.

ရွှင်, *n.* love, *cf.* မိတ်ရွှင် a friend.

ဃ

ဃာန, (Pali) *n.* the nose, organ of smell.

ဃာနကျိ, *n.* the poet of real life အတ္တကျိ.

စ

စန္ဒာ, (Pali) *n.* the moon.

စိတ္တ, စိတ္တော, (Pali) *n.* the heart, the mind.

စိန္တာ, (Pali) *n.* thought, meditation.

— ကျိ, the poet of the imagination.

စီဒကိ, *v.* to arrange, compose.

စွတ်, *v.* to examine.

ဆ

ဆက်ကျင်း, *v.* to descend, come down in regular succession.

ဆက်ကွပ်, *v.* to be connected, uninterrupted.

ဆန်ဏာ, *v.* to compose and put in circulation.

ဆန္ဒအစရှိ, *n.* an author, writer.
ဆေန်ဆက်, *v.* to come down in succession.

၈

ဇန်, (Pali *jano*) *n.* people.
ဇေန်, *n.* composition, from ဇန် to compose.
ဇေန်ဗိုတ်, *n.* a valuable composition.
ဇရာ, (Pali) *n.* old age.
ဇာတ်, (Pali *jataka*) *n.* a birth story of the Buddha.
ဇိဇ (Pali) *n.* life.
ဇံင်, *n.* a couch, divan, throne.

ဇိန်, *v.* to give up, surrender ဇိန်တကုကိုရတ်မိ Haswell's definition of ဇိန်ကိုဝ်
is not sufficient.

ည

ညာဏ (Pali) *n.* knowledge, intelligence. The ordinary form is ညာန်

၉

ဗိုက် for အဲဗိုက် *pron.* I.
ဗူင် *n.* country, kingdom; a city. The Mons of Siam call Burma ဗူင်မန်
the country of the Mon just as Siam is called ဗူင်သေဝ်

တ

တဉာ *n.* former time, ancient times.
တသိုတ် *v.* to go aside, to slant.
တိက္ခ (Pali) *adj.* sharp; clever. Name of a Buddha.
တိက္ခဝ္ဋ (Pali *tikkho+aggo*) another form of the same name; see note on
the translation.
တုန် *n.* a time.
တုံ *adj.* right; poetic for တွံ
တူ *prep.* above လတူ
တောဇေ (Pali) *n.* fire.
တိုင် *adv.* according to အတိုင်
တို့ for တီလ *n.* lord.
တုင်ဏာ *v.* to raise သုင်ဏာ
တုံ့ *v.* to speak.

ထ

ထရိတ် *v.* to cool လရိတ်လစောတ်
ထာဏ (Pali) *n.* place.
ထံက်ကလျံ *v.* to bow.

ဒ

ဒတန် *n.* establishment from တန် to be stable, firm. တင်တုင်တန် describes
the destruction of one kalpa and the beginning of another ဒဒတန်ကပ် from the
beginning of the kalpa.

ဒဗ္ဗိ *v.* to be constant, firm *n.* constancy, firmness.

ဒလာင် *n.* a wicker work tray used for placing offerings. ဒလာင်ကွေင် the
forehead as an altar on which the joined hands are offered.

ဒီပေါ (Pali dīpo) The ဝ is double in compensation for shortening of preceding vowel *n.* island, continent.

ဒေဝိန် shortened form of ဒေဝိန္ဒ Devinda a name of Indra.

ဒွင် *n.* reflection, view.

—ဓာတ် *n.* the space before one's eyes, an object of regard.

ဇြိသုန် *v.* to be waste, desolate ဇြိသုန်သုန် is the Pali sunṇo sometimes written သုန် in sympathy with ဇြိသုန်ဇြိ also occurs.

ဒွါရိ *n.* The three dvaras, the body, the speech, the mind; or deed, word, and thought.

ဇွန် *v.* to touch.

ဒွန် *n.* power, dominion.

၀

ဓမ္မဇေတိ *adj.* true.

နိ

နန္ဒ *n.* Nanda, the author's name.

နဝ (Pali) *num.* nine.

နာဓာ *n.* a lord, master *cf.* ခုဿာ a follower. ကဏတိဿာ is an epithet of Buddha ကျပ်ကြံကဏတိဿာ

နိဗြေ for နိဗြေဂံ (Pali) *n.* banyan.

နဲ *n.* manner, way နဲယ (Pali nayo).

ဝ

ပကသံ *n.* flowers. ပက a flower ordinarily shortened to က as in Haswell. သံ as far as I know is just one of these chiming additions that are often made.*

ပင်ယို *v.* to lift up on one's head, ဝင် to lift ယို to carry on the head.

ပညာသတိ *n.* attentiveness, carefulness.

ပတန် *v.* to establish, fix.

ပတိတာန *n.* (Pali) readiness of speech.

ပေါန် *v.* to cause to ascend, to raise.

ပဝတံ *v.* to do reverence ပဝတံပေါ to make the three reverences.

ပယော (Pali) *n.* side, flank. Elsewhere in the book ပယာ=တာပယာ

ပေါတ် *v.* to strike ပါတ်ပွဲမိတ္တော to understand, to comprehend.

ပေါ *n.* (Pali, *pāda*) foot. The vowel 'a' is changed to 'i' to suit the rhyme.

ပီတိ (Pali) *n.* joy, delight.

ပင်တို့ဟ် *v.* to rise, heave, swell.

ပေ့ဂီ *v.* to make effort. Used with other verbs.

ပွန် *v.* to set upon ပွန်ပုင် to cook rice.

ပွင်ထင် *n.* sacred candle.

* ပက is used of the *flower* of a plant and သံ of a plant, like the croton, which does not flower.—*Editor.*

ဗုဒ္ဓံ *v.* to give light. Haswell defines it “to show, to point out,” which is hardly sufficient. It is the transitive or causative form of ဝေဇ္ဇာ။

ပြီကာ *n.* kind တွံပြီကာ every sort. In the instance cited by Haswell it is really a numeral auxiliary.

So in the text probably. မကမ္ဘပြီကာ and တကမ္ဘပြီကာ “various, manifold.”

ပြီဇောနံ *n.* Isāna.

ပြီမေတြီ , *n.* Srī, wife of Vishnu.

ပြီင်, *v.* to arrange, set in order.

ပြီမီ, *a.* excellent.

ပြီခော, *v.* to be scattered, diffused.

၁

မီပလေဝတီ, *v.* to set aside, to turn aside, to evade. Haswell has မီ and လေဝတီ in their places but the definition seems insufficient in both cases. မီ to set aside လေဝတီ to turn aside, evade.

ဗ

ဗဝံ, *v.* to fit together.

ဗဝါ, *v.* to investigate, examine. Pali *vicāro* investigation, examination
ဗျာဓိကာ Pali *vicāraṇā*.

ဗဝံ, *conj.* although, ဗဝံရ။

ဗန္ဓော, (Pali) *n.* bonds.

ဗလံ, *n.* darkness, *v.* to be dark, to make dark.

ဗ္ဗိ, *v.* to remember.

ဗိနယံ, *n.* Vināyaka.

ဗိသ္ဗု, *n.* Vishnu.

ဗေတီ, *n.* company, sect, division.

ဗိုင်းရီ, *v.* to help, assist.

ဗြဟ္မာ, the five Brahmālokas.

ဗွေင်, *v.* to be out of the straight.

ဗွေတ်ဗွေတ်, *v.* to forget, to miss.

ဆ

ဆဝံ, (Pali *bhavaṅga*) *n.* the mind in a subconscious state. See the word in Judson's Bur. Dict. Also Buddhism, Home University Library p. 76.

မ

မက္ခော, (Pali, *mandūko*)? a frog. In the poem the Karens are said to be people whose meat is the frog. မေါထမေင်ဗွေတ်ဗွေတ်ကော “People who chase the frog and use it for food.”

မန်ဝီ, *n.* the three tribes of Mons. မန်ဝါ မန်ဝိုင် မန်ည။

မာ, particle defining a supposition or case to be stated

သက္ကရာဇ်တံဂွံဟိုတံဂွံဟိုမ “To state the case as to the date.”

မာဆာ, *n.* Probably for Maghavā, Indra.

မိ, *n.* mother. It is also used in addressing women, မိသုဝဏ္ဏာ။ မိရောမိုင်ညီ။

မိတ္တာ, *v.* to love. Pali, *mitto* “a friend.”

မိတ်ရိုင်း, *n.* a friend, a lover.

ခွဲတောင်, another matter introducing a fresh matter or incident.

မြတ်, *v.* to be blazed, to be spread abroad.

မြာ, *v.* to prosper, to gain, to win.

မြတ်, *v.* to be corrupted. There is a form မြတ် in the same sense (Pali vippatti). မြ (Sans.) to be futile.

မြီ, *v.* to be ineffective, to be without result.

ယ

ယက္ခ (Pali) *n.* a superhuman being, a yakkha.

ယာန်, *n.* (Pali yāno) a vehicle.

—တိုက်, travel on foot.

ယိုက်ရန်, *v.* to honour, to reverence.

ယို, *n.* Yamo, ruler of the infernal regions, Death ယိုယို

ယိုရန်, *v.* to acknowledge indebtedness.

ယိုထ, *v.* to bear up, reverence.

ရ

ရဟန္တာ, *n.* holy men, saints, arahants. Plural of Pali *araham*.

ရာ, *n.* place, thing, အရာ.

ရာဂိ, for ရာဂ (Pali) *n.* passion.

ရာဟု, *n.* the name of the Asura who causes eclipses.

ရိတ်တာ, for သုရိတ်တာ which see.

ရုပ္ပိ, *n.* one who has form, a beauty.

ရော, *neg. adv.* not.

ရံ့, *v.* to worship, to reverence.

ရဒေသ, *n.* country.

လ

လင်ကာ, *n.* verse, poetry.

လိက်, *n.* a writing, a work in verse, a secular work.

လဲ *v.* to be easy, *adv.* easily.

လောကနာထ (Pali) Protector or Saviour of the world. An epithet of the Buddha.

လောကီ for လောက (Pali) *n.* the world. Common form လိုက်။

လောတ်လော, *v.* to fall prostrate.

လိုမှာ, *v.* လိုမဟာမိဂိ.

လွှင့်, *n.* order, succession တိုင်လွှင့် according to.

လျှင်, *v.* to be clear.

—စေတော, to be pleased, satisfied.

ဝ

ဝကျ (Pali, vagga) ဝဂ် *n.* a division of a palm leaf manuscript, a book.

ဝိဇ္ဇာ, *n.* the four regencies. သို့ဝိဇ္ဇာ or more fully သို့စတုရတိ ၄ are the four great kings who are the guardians of the world of men.

ဝဏ္ဏာ, for, သုဝဏ္ဏာ

ဝန္ဓာ (Pali) *n.* salutation, homage.

ဝေင်, *v.* to shun.

THE BUDDHIST PHILOSOPHY OF THE REAL (Concluded).

PART II.

(c) *Language and Concepts.*

In the concluding portion of the preceding discussion which appeared in the last issue of this Journal we mentioned language, concepts, logic and analysis.

Language is an instrument of expression of concepts and a medium of communication of ideas. Concepts are generalisations of certain characteristics common to a class of things. They enlarge our views. Ledi says that concepts are to knowledge what space is to movement.¹

So the Buddha devised a system of terms and concepts, called *vijjamāna-paññatti*, to express the realities. A singular term or concept applicable to a particular reality is called *tajjā-paññatti*, because it just represents *its state* and nothing else. 'Hence,' says Ledi, 'these names severally, each by its verbal import, apply to certain appropriate *existing* phenomena only and not to other equally existent phenomena.'²

Though the Buddha adopted current terms, he used them in his own sense. For example, he borrowed the term *dhātu* ('element') from metaphysics of his time. But Buddhaghosa had to take good care to fence it in from current³ implications of soul by some such expressions as 'non-entity' or 'non-soul' (*ni-satta, ni-jīva*). Thus we see here that the word 'element' which expressed a stable concept, such as 'permanent soul,' was adopted in Buddhism to express a mobile reality.

Now singular concepts, as soon as applied to other individual members of the same class, become general concepts.⁴ And abstract knowledge by means of these general concepts is symbolical.

The transition from the serious subject of intuition to that of Buddha's language in the *Kathāvatthu*⁵ seems to us to be intentional to mark the contrast between true knowledge by intuition and symbolical knowledge by concepts through language. The inadequacy of language to express the reality is here affirmed in unmistakeable terms. The concept expressed by language is never identical, never coincident, with the original which it represents.

¹ See Ledi's *Phil. of Relations.* JPTS. 1915—16, p. 52. Cf. 'Concepts, in fact, are outside each other, like objects in space; and they have the same stability as such objects, on which they have been modelled. Taken together, they constitute an "intelligible world." *Crea. Evol.*, p. 169.

² JPTS., 1913—14, p. 127. Cf. 'It (i.e., true empiricism) cuts out for the object a concept which is appropriate to that object alone, a concept which can as yet hardly be called a concept, since it applies to this one thing.' *Intro. to Metaph.*, p. 32.

³ On the meaning of 'dhātu,' see Ledi, pp. 151—134, JPTS. 1913—14. Cf. 'But it (i.e. metaphysics) is truly itself...at least when it frees itself from the rigid and ready-made concepts in order to create a kind very different from those which we habitually use; I mean supple, mobile, and almost fluid representations; always ready to mould themselves on the fleeting forms of intuitions.' *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

⁴ On the possibility of general concepts or universals, see *Pts. of Controv.*, p. 195.

⁵ See *Pts. of Controv.*, pp. 130 and 134.

Language at its best is but a golden wand indifferently pointing to a mass of gold as well as to a heap of paddy and at its worst is a pithless castor-wood stick pointing to things equally indifferently. But in either case, it is not part of the things themselves.¹ In fact, the syllables 'i,' 'dam,' 'duk,' 'kham' in the atomic proposition 'Idam dukkham' are but *parts of an expression*,² or what Bergson's English translator calls *partial expressions*. They are not parts of the reality involved. Even the centre expression 'sugar' written on a piece of paper will never give us the sweet taste. So Buddhaghosa writes: 'Lord Buddha, that Great Sage who sought the good of others, taught that the thing, the reality, is our refuge, not the language. Therefore, philosophers should *force their understanding into the thing* without delighting in words.'³

I cannot conclude this part of the subject on the difference between concepts and realities without quoting *in extenso* Buddhaghosa's fine peroration in his comments on the *Puggala-kathā* of the *Kathāvatthu*. He says:—

"Here in this commentary we shall just point out the meaning intended. The Theravādin introduced such of Buddha's expressions as 'butter-jar,' etc., in order to show that all Buddha's discourses are not to be understood in their literal sense. For example, there is no such thing as butter-jar made of butter in the same way as gold-jar made of gold. The former is so-called because butter is put into it. Similarly, oil-jar, etc.

"Again, there is nothing permanent and constant like Nibbāna, and yet we speak of the daily supply of food and gruel as permanent and continuous. Further, in such expressions as 'There exists a person who works for his own good,' etc., 'person' does not exist by characteristics, individual or common, in the same way as material and mental ultimates. But when these ultimates are present, we label them 'ego' or 'person' and bring this label under a class concept in common usage. Therefore, it is to be understood here that 'person' exists only in common usage and language by common consent. That is why the Buddha said: 'Citta, there are common names, universal terms, conventional usages and general concepts in this world.' But here in the *Puggala-kathā*, the Theravādin meant to convey that the ultimates of matter, etc., exist because they are knowable through their individual and common characteristics without reference to the common consent and convention of mankind.

"Buddha's words are either conventional or philosophical. Such words as 'being,' 'person,' 'deva,' 'Brahmā,' etc., are conventional. But such words as 'impermanent,' 'ill,' 'soulless,' 'khandha,' 'element,' 'āyatana,' 'mindfulness—preeminent,' 'effort—supreme,' etc., are philosophical. The Buddha began with the former when a particular person to be instructed was deemed capable of penetrating the real behind the word, escaping the rounds

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 135. We have not been able to trace a parallel in Greek thought to this striking Buddhist figure of stick.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 257, 258.

³ *Atthaṃ hi nātho saraṇaṃ avoca, na byañjanaṃ, lokahito mahesī; tasmā akatvā ratim akkhareṣu atthe niveseyya matimā' ti. Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī atthakathā.*

of renewed existence and achieving the victory of Ariyanship. But when a person was considered capable of accomplishing all these on hearing a discourse on any of the philosophical terms, the Buddha first discoursed on that term. This was the normal procedure in the order of teaching by conventional and philosophical terms. Philosophical language is generally dry (*lūkhākāra*). Hence popular language was often adopted to pave the way for the philosophical. But whether popular or philosophical language was used, in either case the Buddha referred to the real, the natural, the true. The Supreme Buddha, the excellent preacher, taught us two classes of facts, nominal and real, there being no third. Symbolic words are true because of the common consent of the world, and philosophical words are also true because of the characteristics of things. One must not wrongly think, simply because the Buddha did not outstrip the common usage. In teaching the real by means of concepts, he did not exceed the legitimate scope of common usage. Therefore, when philosophers teach the real, they cannot help using common language. But neither they nor any one else should abuse them by exceeding the scope thereof."

(f) *Logic.*

A critic of Mrs. Rhys Davids' *Buddhist Psychology* seems to hold that logic is absent in Buddhism.¹ But this charge against Buddhism is not well founded.

Takkasīlā (Greek Taxila) is mentioned in various Buddhist records² as a seat of learning. We are told in the commentary on the *Dhammapada* that students from all parts of the then known world repaired to this University in the Gandhāra in order to learn arts and sciences under world-renowned professors.³ There is no doubt that this town derived its name from the fact that logic, the science of sciences, the art of arts, was *habitually*⁴ taught as one of the compulsory subjects of its University curriculum. It came to be known later as Purushpur (Pali Purisapūra, modern Peshwar), because men who went there acquired "accomplishments" which they previously lacked.⁵ So we know that, as in ancient Greece, so in more ancient Buddhist India, the cradle of modern sciences, no man was considered "accomplished" without an equipment of logic. The cultured sons of the soil were apparently known as the Takka tribe or a race of logicians.

Now, did not Aristotle accompany Alexander the Great to the gate of India like his nephew Callisthenes? Was that savant not present at the surrender of Taxila to the conqueror? Possibly Aristotle, who was 58 years old when his pupil invaded India, was too old to accompany Alexander in his campaign of conquests. Even if he did not visit Taxila then, or had not visited it earlier, there can be no doubt of his connection with the East. The father of logic, who was born in 384 B. C., became a pupil of Plato at the

¹ J.B.R.S., Vol. V, Part III, pp. 172, 173.

² E. g., *Ekaniṣṭha*. Sophists are mentioned in the *Brahmajālasutta* as addicted to logic and reasoning. See Ledi, p. 244, J.P.T.S. 13-14.

³ *Ācariya* ācariyassa santike sippuggahanatthāya Takkasīlaṃ gantvā....

⁴ Takko sīlaṃ sabhāvo sā Takkasīlā. *Abhidhānappadīpikāśūci*.

⁵ Yo hi purisākārena ūno so tattha gantvā tamūnaṃ pūretīti Takkasīlā. *Op. cit.*

age of seventeen. Though he was under tuition for twenty years, he did not become the head of the school on the death of his master; for he had disagreed with the teacher. He, then in his thirty-seventh year, came over to Asia Minor and married the niece of his philosophical friend Hermeas, ruler of Atarneas. Next he was summoned, in his forty-second year, by Philip of Macedon to undertake the tuition of Prince Alexander then in thirteen or fifteen years of age. The Prince, who was destined to be a world-conqueror, was told stories of the quarrel to be fought out between the East and the West. Aristotle had, before he became the royal tutor, collected a vast mass of facts and observations for the systematic cultivation of physical science. He must have had collected all his data, while in Asia Minor, from Ionians who may be described as pioneers of Greek thought, since Thales, that sage of Miletus (640-546 B. C.) who was a contemporary of the Buddha, was the father of Greek philosophy, astronomy and geometry. Ionia (Yona) and Ionians (Yonakas) figure largely in Buddhist records. Dhammarakkhita (Greek Demetrius) is recorded to have been sent as a missionary to Ionia immediately after the Third Buddhist Council. His own conversion to the Buddhist faith would argue that there must have been a good deal of previous intercourse between Ionia and India, shewing at the same time a vast influence of Indian thought on the Greek mind long before the Third Council, even as the conversions of Bactrians, Kings and people, conclusively prove the influence of Buddhist philosophy on King Menander and others. Even unconverted Bactrian Kings did not escape that influence; for they adopted the Buddhist title or legend of Mahārājassa Dharmikassa on their coins. These influences go to show that Indian culture was superior to Grecian civilisation even at that later date. Therefore, it is quite possible that ancient Ionians learnt the art of reasoning, involved in geometry, from India. And it is more than probable that Aristotle learnt logic from his predecessors in Asia Minor, though he was the first to evolve a text-book on the science in his native language. True, we have not discovered any ancient text-books on logic extant. Mediæval treatises, discovered by Professor S. C. Vidyabhusāna of Calcutta, though in Sanscrit, were mostly written by Buddhist authors.¹ Indeed, Vinitadeva, the author of the commentary on *Takkanyāya*, a treatise on the Method of Logic, by Dhammakitti referred to the Buddha as the most excellent of all logicians. While its sister science of rhetoric (*Alaṅkāra*) has been rendered into a Pali version, none of the logical works seem to have been so rendered. Pali grammarians, however, have stepped into the province of logicians and elaborately treated of terms in treatises which are classed as "minor grammars" too numerous to mention. Exclusive attention seems to have been paid to this part of logic because terms have a special bearing on Buddhist philosophy. Into the discussion of this subject, I cannot here enter; nor can I enter into that interesting and instructive subject of commentarial logic, i. e., commentarial methods of Buddhist authors using certain literary devices in order to indicate the reasonings involved in their writings. But we may gather from the

¹ See *Mediæval School of Indian Logic* by Satis Chandra Vidyabhusāna.

Kathāvatthu that Buddhist logicians were acquainted with the distribution of the middle term;¹ the law of contradiction;² the law of the excluded middle;³ and the conversion of universal propositions into particulars.⁴ Therefore, Buddhists were not unfamiliar with the universal propositions, such as, *Sabbe saṅkhārā aniccā* ('All things in the making are impermanent'), as Professor Vidyabhusāna thought. Buddhists knew divisions and definitions, and had syllogism. They divided their syllogism into five parts:—⁵

- (i) Whatever is fiery is smoky.
- (ii) That hill is smoky, (iii) like a fireplace.
- (iv) Therefore it is fiery, (v) because it is smoky.

The major premiss is termed *udāharana* or "assumed"; the minor premiss, *upanayana* (lit. carried close to the major); and the conclusion, *nigamana*. Europeans treat (iii), the example or *upamā*, as an argument or reasoning from analogy. It is not difficult to see why European logic had got rid of (v), the reason or *hetu*, as superfluous.

This stock example of hill seems to have appealed to the Indian mind, because, to an uncouth man, it shows the utility of deductive reasoning, just as a trigonometrical survey of a distant hill shows the advantages of triangulation. For this reason, the hill example is very often referred to in Buddhist writings.

Although syllogism was known, Buddhists in a controversy would adopt conditional⁶ arguments as in the *Kathāvatthu*. They employed Russell's molecular proposition of his new logic—If A is B, C is D. Buddhaghosa called the antecedent conditional clause of the hypothetical major premiss *thapana*, because the opponent's statement is conditionally established for the purpose of refutation. The consequent clause was termed *pāpāna*, the carrying of the refutation to the enemy's camp, so to speak. The minor premiss was generally suppressed. The conclusion was called *ropana*, the placing of the refutation on the opponent's shoulders. Buddhist logicians clearly recognised the fallacy of not affirming the antecedent or of not denying the consequent. Now, how did ancients get their general propositions which they assumed as major premises in their arguments? Did they arrive at them *a priori*?

There are indications in the *Kathāvatthu* that Indians were particularly good at grasping singular concepts.⁷ And we have also seen that they could

¹ See *Pts. of Controv.*, n. 1, p. 22; n. 5, p. 94.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 192.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 191.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 22, 23; n. 2, p. 87.

⁵ See *Takkasāṅgaha* by Annam Bhatta.

⁶ Cf. 'But the forms of propositions giving rise to inferences are not the simplest forms. They are always hypothetical, stating that, if one proposition is true, then so is another.' Russell's *Low. Lec.* p. 44. The italics are ours. Cf. also 'The second (i.e. the intellectual mode of knowing) is only a natural power of drawing conclusions when in possession of premises, of proceeding from what has been learnt to what is still unknown. It does not say, "This is," it says only that "if the conditions are such, such will be the conditioned." the second kind, the intellectual, would always be expressed hypothetically.' *Crea. Evol.*, p. 157.

⁷ *Pts. of Controv.*, n. 5, p. 94.

infer the presence of the sea from a drop of sea water.¹ In other words, they began with atomic facts, but they also knew how to generalise² from them. Thus we are driven to the conclusion that they started with atomic propositions and arrived at general propositions by what Mill afterwards calls 'principle of induction by simple enumeration.'³

A Buddhist would inductively reason somewhat as follows:—

"If this is changeful, ill and soulless, that is also so; if that is so, the other is also so" and so on till he jumped to the conclusion that "All is changeful, ill and soulless."

Ordinarily the greatest number of particular instances would be required to establish the moral certainty or the highest degree of probability of such a general conclusion. But as already observed, a single reliable, infallible instance of intuition may suffice for the purpose.

In any case, the general conclusion arrived at by induction can never be absolutely certain, since particular instances are not exhaustible by enumeration. Hence the need for verification of all generalisations. Verification may be done by comparing truths arrived at by deductive reasoning from generalisations, but it must be done in the last resort by actual observation and experiment. And the Buddhist experiment does not end with mere observation from outside, but with penetration or intuition into an atomic fact.

To this subject I shall advert later.

Now, *vitakka* in Buddhist philosophy⁴ is the mental property which consists in the throwing of its concomitants on to the surface of an object about which understanding reasons. Therefore, *takka* or reasoning is but the superficial play of understanding on objects.⁵ In other words, understanding seeks the reason outside an object, but does not enter it.

Classical logic working with concepts⁶ holds good for arriving at conventional truths and is useful for all practical purposes. The so-called modern logic of Russell is as old as Buddhism, if not earlier. Buddhist logic carries us from atomic facts to abstract general truths⁷ from which tradi-

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 132.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 195.

³ That Buddhists were not unfamiliar with inductive method may be inferred from *Pts. of Controv.*, p. 305.

⁴ *Compnd.*, p. 57 and n. 1, p. 129.

⁵ Cf. 'The second (i.e. the intellectual mode of knowing) gets at no object in particular; it is only a natural power of relating an object to an object, a part to a part, or an aspect to an aspect. *Crea. Evol.* p. 157.

⁶ Cf. 'Our logic is the complete set of rules that must be followed in using symbols.' *Crea. Evol.*, p. 169.

⁷ Cf. 'Dialectic is necessary to put intuition to the proof, necessary also in order that intuition should break itself up into concepts and so be propagated to other men; but all it does, often enough, is to develop the result of that intuition which transcends it.' *Crea. Evol.*, p. 251.

In subtlety of dialectics Indians were second to none. Compare even the heckling dialectic on hare's horn—"Having been is," "Not having been, is not" (*Pts. of Controv.*, p. 89, 377) with Bergson's argument: 'It (i.e. passive intelligence) could not receive an imprint of negation; for, once again, that which exists may come to be recorded, but the non-existence of the non-existent cannot' (*Crea. Evol.*, p. 308).

tional logic again works down to particular truths. The Buddha himself did not discourage logic; for, in the *Kālāma Sutta* he enjoined his disciples not to believe any statement, whether it had come down in the form of tradition or of information in a book written even by the wise without first testing it with one's own reason. But logic has its limits. We think it was Mansel who observed that it is as impossible to make a deep thinker out of a mere logician as a general out of a mere fencing master. True. For the moment we attempt to deal with atomic facts—the realities—logic necessarily and signally fails, even as Mr. Russell, the champion of logic, himself admits.¹

(g) *Analysis.*

Buddhas Supreme, Buddhas Special and those Ariyan disciples who attained Nibbāna won their salvation through their penetrative understanding, as we have already observed. But while the Supreme Buddhas could explain their intuition to their disciples, the Special, like a dumb man who had seen a dream, could not make themselves understood by others. Again, Buddhists draw a line of demarcation between a Tathāgata and his disciples in the knowledge of causal occasions, etc.²

Why was this difference between the Supreme Buddha and the Special Buddha on the one hand and the disciples on the other? The Special Buddha did not develop analytic insight. Disciples, like Sāriputtara, developed it to a greater degree than the rest, while the Supreme Buddha carried it to perfection, as evidenced by the analytic method adopted in the *Abhidhamma*.³ No wonder that his omniscience (*sabbāññutañāna*), which is intuition *plus* analysis,⁴ is accorded the highest place by Buddhists. The Supreme Buddha is also rightly regarded by his followers as an analyst (*vibhajjavādin*), i. e., one who was in the habit of teaching by analysis.⁵

Now, the Buddhist psychologist observes the flow of mind from outside and analyses⁶ each momentary state of consciousness either as it moves on in another or after it has passed by in himself. The results of his analysis are given in Part II of the *Compendium*. Then, he abstracts characteristics

¹ Cf. 'But in the first acquisition of knowledge concerning atomic facts, logic is useless. In pure logic, no atomic fact is ever mentioned; we confine ourselves wholly to forms, without asking ourselves what objects can fill the forms. Thus pure logic is independent of atomic facts; but conversely, they are, in a sense, independent of logic. Pure logic and atomic facts are the two poles, the wholly *a priori* and the wholly empirical.' *Low. Lec.*, p. 53.

² Cf. 'All can share insight into extinction of Intoxicants; he (i. e. the Buddha) alone discerns the degrees of development in controlling powers. The causal occasion, etc., of anything, a Tathāgata knows without limit, the disciple knows only within a certain range. The latter can state them generally, in brief; the former can explain them particularly in detail.' *Pts. of Controv.*, p. 139.

³ Ledi says that the *Abhidhamma* teaching makes for the increase of analytical knowledge in those Ariyan students and for the acquisition at some future date of the same by ordinary folk. See *JPTS*, 1913-14, p. 124.

⁴ Cf. 'Intuition and intellect represent two opposite directions of the work of consciousness: A complete and perfect humanity would be that in which these two forms of conscious activity should attain their full development.' *Crea. Evol.*, p. 281. Cf. also. 'Not only may we thus complete the intellect and its knowledge of matter by accustoming it to install itself within the moving; but by developing also another faculty complementary to the intellect, we may open a perspective on the other half of the real. . . . To intellect, in short, there will be added intuition.' *Op. cit.*, p. 362.

⁵ *Pts. of Controv.*, p. 7.

⁶ Cf. 'The psychologist has nothing else to do but analyse personality; that is, to note certain states.' *Intro. to Metaph.*, p. 26.

or traits common to a class, leaving out anything that is unique in the individual state. That is, he generalises for purposes of classification. Thus concepts of common types of consciousness, as arrayed in Part I of the *Compendium*, appear to some European critics as a 'bundle of barren, dry technicalities' devoid of individual colourings.¹

Next, he divides the immobile time concept into a 'powder of moments,' and then, divides the stationary track² (*vīthi*) passed over and left behind by the moving, flowing and living mind, as in Part IV of the *Compendium*.

Finally, he analyses the causal relations³ between these schematic states of consciousness. The results of analysis into causes are given in Part VIII of the *Compendium*.

All this classification and analysis with divisions, definitions and explanations are for the better understanding of philosophy, which is what is correctly said about the real, but not of the reality itself.

Buddhism distinguishes the knowledge of philosophy (*pariyatti-ñāṇa*) from the intuition of the reality (*paññavedha-ñāṇa*).⁴ There is a third division called practical knowledge (*paññapatti-ñāṇa*). But in Buddhism true knowledge is identical with work.⁵

We have said elsewhere that a knowledge of the law bearing on the causation of Ill, which we have seen to be our personality, the reality, is held sufficient for purposes of salvation. The causal law or the *Paṭicca-samuppāda-naya* referred to simply states that B invariably and inevitably happens because of A. But our natural desire for an increase of knowledge demands an explanation. Why should B necessarily happen whenever A happens? The answer to this question, we find in the elaborate system of causal relations treated of in the Great Book of *Paṭṭhāna*.

The theory of a cause as a mere antecedent event and of an effect as a mere consequent had been long exploded.⁶ The two events are not merely

¹ Concept 'retains only that part of the object which is common to it and to others. The concept generalises at the same time as it abstracts ... The concept can only symbolise a particular property by making it common to an infinity of things.' *Intro. to Metaph.*, p. 16.

² Cf. 'It is not the moving itself which is divisible but rather the stationary line it leaves behind it as its track in space.' *Op. cit.*, p. 12.

³ 'Beside things, there are relations.' *Crea Evol.*, p. 155. But Bergson writes: 'Now, a relation is a bond established by a mind between two or more terms. A relation is nothing outside the intellect that relates,' *Op. cit.*, p. 377. With Russell, relations are real (p. 49, *Low. Lec.*) Buddhists hold that individual, particular relations are real, and general concepts of relations are intellectual.

⁴ This division corresponds to Russell's distinction between 'knowledge about' and 'acquaintance with.' Only Buddhists substitute Bergson's intuition for Russell's acquaintance.

⁵ Cf. 'But knowledge and action are here only two aspects of one and the same faculty.' *Crea. Evol.*, p. 158. Cf. also—'Let us try to see, no longer with the eyes of the intellect alone, which grasps only the already made and which looks from the outside, but with the spirit, I mean with that faculty of seeing which is immanent in the faculty of acting and which springs up, somehow, by the twisting of the will on itself, when action is turned into knowledge, like heat, so to say, into light.' *Op. cit.*, p. 264.

⁶ 'By the cause of an event, we mean the circumstances which *must have preceded* in order that the event should happen.' Jevon's *Lessons in Logic*, p. 239. But also cf. 'By an antecedent we mean any thing, condition or circumstance which exists before; or, it may be, *at the same time* with an effect or phenomenon.' *Op. cit.*, p. 240. The italics are ours.

placed in juxtaposition in space or time without any real connection between them. We are told in the Great Book that A, as a root-condition or as an object of consciousness or as a basis, etc., causally relates itself to B with such and such power, energy or force (*paccayasatti*) by such and such function (*vicca*). A detailed analysis of A and its power and function in its relation to B helps to broaden our outlook on life, to widen the horizon of our knowledge.¹ The Buddha himself most highly praised the analytic knowledge of the twenty-four causes (*paccayas*) as better preparing the mind for the acceptance of the non-soul doctrine. The Buddhist philosophy of relations teaches us that, with the exception of Nibbāna, everything else happens through a cause but not according to one's desire or will. The view of the free will as a cause with power to *compel* events to follow its dictates or mandates has been fruitful of the soul theory.² If will, considered as a cause, be not compelling its effects, it, considered in turn as an effect, cannot be compelled by causes either. In other words, our volitions and actions, though subject to causation, are not subject to external compulsion.³ Volition in Buddhism is the power of self-determination, according to circumstances, and while determined by the past, is still free to determine itself for the future.

A careful study of the results of the analysis of causes reveals a remarkable parallelism between Buddhism and Russellism, so much so that, when Ledi's *Philosophy of Relations* was submitted to the Hon. Bertrand Russell, he expressed his pleasure to find that Buddhism offers something in sympathy with his philosophy.

The Buddhist view may be summarised as follows:—

Cause implies power, energy or force with which its function operates in relation to its effect. It is always a particular event, thing or process. The force or energy of a cause is as real as any physical or mental force. And as a reality, the causal relation is variable with the varying terms. But

¹ Cf. 'A cause is an event or group of events, of some known *general* character, and having a known relation to some other event called the effect; the relation being of such a kind that only one event, or at any rate, only one well-defined sort of event, can have the relation to a given cause.' Russell's *Low Lec.*, p. 226. The italics are ours.

² Api ca yasmā imāya catuvisatiyā paccayadesanāya imaṃ atthaṃ dasseti; sabbe pi saṅkhatadhammā nāma paccayavattavuttikā eva honti; sattānaṃ vasayavattavuttikā na honti; *paccayavattavuttikā* ca tesu na kko pi dhammo appakena paccayena uppajjati; atha kho *paccayavattavuttikā* uppajjati. Tasmā ayaṃ desanā dhammānaṃ lakṣhapadīpane mattha-

³ Cf. 'Are human actions subject to external compulsion? We have, in deliberation, a subjective sense of freedom, which is sometimes alleged against the view that volitions have causes.: This sense of freedom, however, is only a sense that we can choose which we please of a number of alternatives; it does not show us that there is no causal connection between what we please to choose and our past history. The supposed inconsistency of these two springs from the habit of considering causes as analogous to volitions Causes we have seen do not *compel* their effects any more than effects *compel* their causes.' Russell's *Low Lec.*, pp. 233, 234.

the concept of relation, which is relation in general and not a relation between any particular terms, is constant¹ like every other concept.

The causal law necessarily takes account of temporal relations of coexistence or succession. Therefore, effects need not always be later than causes.

Causal relation is either intransitive as that of *Paṭṭhāna* or transitive as that of *Paccaya*. Of the latter, some relations may be merely non-transitive.²

Again, relations may be symmetrical or asymmetrical.³ Of the former, some may be merely non-symmetrical.

For details readers are referred to Ledi's *Philosophy of Relations*.⁴

(h) Uniformity of Nature.

In the foregoing pages while discussing analysis, we have touched upon the causal law. Ledi writes:—'... he who discerns the law of causation wholly puts away the doubtings of errors, and stands firm in the knowledge of, and insight into, things as they really are. This is the advantage of knowledge in the analysis of conditions.'⁵

But no true knowledge is complete without intuition. The Buddhist maxim is: 'No intuition, no salvation.' The term 'Ariyan' is applied only to one out of the ten powers of the Buddha, i. e., to the Insight into the extinction of Intoxicants (*Āsavakkhaya-nāna*).⁶ This is the intuition of the personality by an Arahant who by the very act of intuition extinguishes all corruptions bound up with Intoxicants. It is the only one insight which the Buddha and his disciples equally share.⁷ Arahants, however, may lack knowledge, or may be excelled by others, or may have doubts, in ordinary, worldly, practical matters,⁸ though they possess the intuition of the real in common with the Buddha.

¹ Cf. 'It is to be observed that what is constant in a causal law is not the object or objects given, nor yet the object inferred, both of which may vary within wide limits, but the *relation* between what is given and what is inferred.' Russell's *Low Lec.*, p. 214. Cf. 'Now, a law is a relation between things or between facts.' *Crea. Evol.*, p. 242. Also cf. 'A law connects changing terms,' *Op. cit.*, p. 372. Further cf. 'But a law, in general, expresses only a relation, and physical laws in particular express only *quantitative* relations between concrete things.' *Op. cit.*, p. 369. Buddhists recognise two classes of facts, real and nominal. The nominal include ideas, notions or concepts. The relation between two things is real. The relation between mind and an idea as object would be no less real because one term is real. But the relation between two concepts as expressed in a law is purely formal and is therefore general.

² Cf. 'A relation is said to be *transitive*, if, whenever it holds between A and B and also between B and C, it holds between A and C.' 'A relation is said to be *non-transitive* whenever it is not transitive.' 'A relation is said to be *intransitive* when, if A has the relation to B, and B to C, A never has it to C.' Russell's *Low Lec.*, p. 48.

³ *Pts. of Controv.*, n. 3, p. 294 and Appendix, p. 386. 'Thus a relation is symmetrical if, whenever it holds between A and B, it also holds between B and A. All relations that are not symmetrical are called non-symmetrical.... A relation is called asymmetrical when, if it holds between A and B, it *never* holds between B and A.' Russell's *Low Lec.*, p. 47.

⁴ *JPTS.* 15-16, pp. 21-53.

⁵ Ledi, p. 123, *JPTS.*, 1913-14.

⁶ *Pts. of Controv.*, p. 142.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 139.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 114, 115.

Now, if intuition gives us the absolute, i.e., the real independent of all relations, how can intuition of our personality make us feel as held between the past and the future¹? This cannot be due entirely to our memory, as held by Bergson. We have shown elsewhere² how memory is possible by the *paccayasatti* of expired mental states.³ But memory is not intuition. It is but part of our personality at each moment. Whether this memory be intuited or not, it would continue to do its assigned work. It is part of the intellect, that turns to the rear and looks behind. If improved as in the case of rishis of old, it may reveal a glorious vista of the past. In short, memory sums up the past but does not announce the future. We think it would be an abuse of terms to say that Russell's "pretended seers" may have the memory of the future.

If, then, memory does not give us the future, what is it that gives us a glimpse into it? We may hope for, or anticipate, what we desire, and we may even depict our desired future to our imagination in the form of a present vision. If our image turned out to be true, i.e., if our hopes and anticipations were realised, vision would be prevision. But prevision, or foresight proper, is based on the law of inference. We infer the unknown future from the known past—'As it has been, so will it be.'

The validity of our inference rests on the assumed uniformity of nature, on which the whole fabric of modern science is founded.

Buddhists recognise and distinguish five so-called uniformities:—

- (a) *Utu-niyāma* or seasonal sequence in the physical world;
- (b) *Bīja-niyāma* or germinal sequence in the vegetable and animal kingdoms;
- (c) *Citta-niyāma* or mental sequence in the mental world;
- (d) *Kamma-niyāma* karmal or moral sequence in the moral world; and
- (e) *Dhamma-niyāma* or phenomenal⁴ sequence in nature.

¹ Bergson writes: 'But just as consciousness based on colour, which sympathised internally with orange instead of perceiving it externally, would feel itself held between red and yellow, would even perhaps suspect beyond this last colour a complete spectrum into which the continuity from red to yellow might expand naturally, so the intuition of our duration, far from leaving us suspended in the void as pure analysis would do, brings us into contact with a whole continuity of duration.' *Intro. to Metaphr.*, pp. 53, 54.

² *Compend.*, p. 12.

³ Mrs. Rhys Davids wrote to us soon after the publication of the *Compendium* that M. Henri Bergson was peculiarly interested in the Buddhist theory of memory. Cf. 'But, then, I cannot escape the objection that there is no state of mind, however simple, which does not change every moment, since there is no consciousness without memory and no continuation of the state without the addition, to the present feeling, of the memory of the past moments. It is this which constitutes duration. Inner duration is the continuous life of a memory which prolongs the past into the present, the present either containing within it in a distinct form the ceaselessly flowing image of the past, or more probably, showing by its continual change of quality the heavier and still heavier load we drag behind us as we grow older. Without this survival of the past into the present, there would be no duration, but only instantaneity.' *Op. cit.*, p. 38.

⁴ (a) and (b) belong to the physical order and (c) and (d), to the mental. Strictly speaking, these two orders should exhaust the universe. Again, (e) should include the first four. For the word *dhamma* means any thing, process, event or phenomenon. In this sense, *dhammaniyāma* would correspond to *dhammatā*, a law which regulates all classes of phenomena. E.g., the *paṭicca-samuppāda-naya*, the causal law. I have used the word 'phenomenal' here not in the scientific sense of 'relating to all phenomena,' but in the journalistic sense of 'relating to extraordinary or exceptional phenomena,' i.e., phenomena not covered by the first four classes.

(a) is illustrated by the apparent order of seasons; (b), by the relative fixity of specific types; (c), by the regular order of mental states in a process of thought; (d), by the inevitable reaction to every moral action; and (e), by certain exceptional phenomena such as were usually observed on special occasions of the birth of a Buddha and so forth.

All these uniformities are founded on the universal¹ law of causation. The causal law expresses a constant relation between a group of events called causes and a group of events called effects in a general proposition.² But terms in a general proposition are symbols of general concepts. Therefore, the constant relation between two general concepts, A and B, is relation in general. That is, it is a general or class concept of particular relations.

Now, whether a Tathāgata has arisen or not to reveal this causal law, A always *stands* as the cause of B. A is termed *dharmma-ñhitatā* in Buddhist books, because it is stable or constant as a cause by which the *dharmma* B is *established* as an effect.³ This term, though in an abstract form, denotes a concrete⁴ cause, but also connotes abstract causation or causality.

A Tathāgata only formulates such a law as 'B happens because of A' after the *paṭicca-samuppāda* method. But when he analyses A in its causal relation to B after the *paṭṭhāna* method, we have an explanation of the causal relations to 'this' (*ida=idam*) *dharmma* B.⁵ We, therefore, call A *idapaccayatā*. This term, like *paccayatā* or simply *paccaya*, denotes a concrete cause, and implies causal relation of A (the *paccaya*) to B (the *paccayuppanna dharmma*). 'This' *dharmma* B in this connection need not be confined to an individual phenomenon uniquely determined in a particular relation, but may be a kind or class of phenomena.⁶

Now, whenever a particular A occurs, we expect that some particular B will also occur. Why? Because, we say, A invariably 'marks out' for us the *dharmma* B as its effect. Hence A receives a further appellation of *dharmmaniyāmatā*. This term, like its two preceding synonyms, also denotes a concrete cause, but implies the principle of induction⁷ by which we are enabled to infer B from A.

What is the available evidence for the validity of our inference? We have empirically observed certain uniformities of sequence between certain

¹ Cf. 'Both (i.e. the vital order and the physical order) cause experience to repeat itself, both enable our mind to generalise.' *Crea. Evol.*, p. 237.

² Cf. 'By a "causal law" I mean any general proposition in virtue of which it is possible to infer the existence of one thing or event from the existence of another or a number of others.' Russell's *Low. Lec.*, p. 213.

³ *Pts. of Controv.*, p. 187 and App., p. 381.

⁴ Strictly speaking, every term, even though defined in terms of agency in Buddhist philosophy, must be understood in terms of state. See *Op. cit.*, p. 387. Cf. *Compend.*, pp. 7 and 8.

⁵ *Yaṃ imassa paccayo—'That is the cause of this.'* See Ledi, p. 226, the *Yamako*, Vol. II.

⁶ Cf. 'The particular which is inferred may be uniquely determined by the causal, or may be only described in such general terms that many different terms might satisfy the description.' Russell's *Low. Lec.*, p. 215.

⁷ Cf. 'Induction rests on the belief that there are causes and effects, and that the same effects follow the same causes.' *Crea. Evol.*, p. 226. We would substitute 'similar' for 'same' in this quotation.

A's and certain B's at certain places and at certain times. From the observed and experienced uniformities we infer the unobserved and unexperienced uniformities of sequence between the rest of A's and the rest of B's.

We have already pointed out that 'as the number of instances increases, the probability approaches indefinitely near to certainty.'¹ But whether we infer from the greatest number of instances of Russell's 'acquaintance' or from a single reliable, infallible instance of Bergson's intuition, the unobserved portion still remains unverified.² And since this portion cannot be regarded as absolutely certain³ till verified, the so-called uniformities enumerated above are but the highest probabilities amounting to moral certainties. For example, we have no definite assurance that the sun will rise tomorrow at a certain specified hour,⁴ any more than we have of the invariability of types against the Darwinian theory of evolution of species.

It is true that the last of the so-called uniformities provides for the explanation of apparent exceptions by enlarging the group of causes.⁵ For instance, when a Buddha, through his foresight (*Anāgataṃsa-nāṇa*) which is his exclusive privilege not shared by his disciples, prophesied that a particular individual would become a future Buddha, he made use of the last named uniformity, called *Dhamma-niyāma*, by enlarging the causal group A, i. e., by carefully observing all past and present conditions in all their possible bearings.⁶

Even in his case prevision has its limitations. He could not predict the *exact* event and the *exact* hour, but only the *kind* of event.⁷

¹ Cf. Russell's *Low. Lec.*, p. 222.

² Cf. 'To sum up: the strict, certain, universal law of causation which philosophers advocate is an ideal, possibly true, but not known to be true in virtue of any available evidence. What is actually known, as a matter of empirical science, is that certain constant relations are observed to hold between members of a group of events at certain times . . . Any such constant relation between events of specified kinds with given intervals of time between them is a "causal law." But all causal laws are liable to exceptions if the cause is less than the whole state of the universe.' *Op. cit.*, pp. 226, 227.

³ Cf. '...how could we know beforehand a situation that is unique of its kind, that has never yet occurred and will never occur again?' *Crea. Evol.*, p. 29.

⁴ Cf. 'if in fact, when I say that the water on the fire will boil to-day as it did yesterday, and this is an absolute necessity, I feel vaguely that my imagination is placing the stone of yesterday on that of to-day, kettle on kettle, water on water, duration on duration, . . . But my imagination acts thus only because it shuts its eyes to two essential points. For the system of to-day actually to be superimposed on that of yesterday, the latter must have waited for the former, these must have halted and everything becomes simultaneous.' *Op. cit.*, p. 228.

⁵ Cf. '.... when such relations fail, as they sometimes do, it is usually possible to discover a new, more constant relation by enlarging the group.' Russell's *Low. Lec.*, p. 227.

⁶ *Pts. of Controv.*, p. 181. Also cf. *Compend.*, p. 63.

⁷ Cf. 'It is not necessary for the determinist to maintain that he can foresee the whole particularity of the act which will be performed.If the *kind* of event which will be performed can be foreseen within narrow limits, it is of little practical interest that there are fine shades that cannot be foreseen.' Russell's *Low. Lec.*, p. 230.

Contrast 'But even a superhuman intelligence would not have been able to foresee the simple indivisible form which gives us here purely abstract elements, there concrete organisation. For to foresee consists of projecting into the future what has been perceived in the past, of imagining for a later time a new grouping, in a new order, of elements already perceived. But that which has never been perceived, and which is at the same time simple, is necessarily unforeseeable.' *Crea. Evol.*, p. 6.

And the title of 'Assured' was usually extended only by courtesy to the privileged individual who was so prophesied, since that individual himself was not yet assured of final salvation.¹ Of course, it was highly improbable that he would fail to attain salvation, but there was always the possibility of his failure till he entered the path of assurance by intuition.

Again, not all Karmas are inflexible;² for, while some of them are inoperative, some can be counteracted or even inhibited.³

The Buddha himself recognised only two orders of assurances:—⁴

- (a) The higher order of assurance of final salvation (*sammatta-niyāma*);
- (b) The lower order of assurance of immediate retribution (*micchatta-niyāma*).

Nothing can prevent a man from winning his salvation, once he has had an intuition of the real and nothing can save a man from punishment in the immediately next existence, once he has committed one or other of the five heinous crimes of parricide, etc.

(i) *Conclusion.*

We may now summarise the results of our comparisons, pointing out contrasts, if any.

We agree with both Bergson and Russell that there is an external reality. A Buddhist is at one with the former in the dynamic conception of the reality. The Indian philosophy of change starts with motion, instead of rest, and the Buddhist holds with Bergson that motion or change is continuous and indivisible. Russell, too, accepts the indubitable momentary reality of objects.

While both Buddhists and Bergson concede that concepts are necessary to represent this moving reality, and language, to express stable concepts, they hold that the real is truly itself only when it transcends concepts.

The Buddhist begins with momentary sense-data which he analyses; Russell starts with common, vague, complex knowledge which he analyses into sense-data. The former observes that a sense-datum has certain characteristics, namely, properties, functions, effects and causes. The latter holds that it has a certain quality or a certain relation.

With Bergson relations are intellectual; with Russell, they are real. Buddhists qualify this by distinguishing particular relations which are real from general relations which are conceptual.

By 'fact' Russell understands that a thing *has* a certain quality or relation, but the Buddhist understands that it, with all its characteristics, *exists*.

Russell calls his facts atomic and says—and we agree with him—that, in the first acquisition of knowledge concerning atomic facts, logic is useless. Atomic facts are expressed in atomic propositions such as, 'This is red,'

¹ *Pts. of Controv.*, n. 3, p. 275.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 356. Cf. 'In fact, inflexible determinism and mathematic order are one with this very interruption' (i.e., of the creative act). *Crea. Evol.*, p. 230.

³ *Compnd.*, pp. 44, 45. Also see our article, entitled *The Forces of Character*, in *Buddhism*, Vol. II, No. 1.

⁴ *Pts. of Controv.*, pp. 275, 379.

'*This* is before *that*.' These atomic propositions do not seem to differ, in form at least, from Aristotelian singular propositions, such as, 'Socrates was the man who drank the hemlock,' or 'Aristotle was the father of logic.' At any rate, Russell's atomic propositions are on all fours with Buddhist propositions, such as '*This* is ill.'

We say that the two terms of his atomic proposition are just symbols of concepts representing one and the same thing or fact involved as a simple, indivisible whole.

There are two ways of knowing this fact, namely, Russell's 'acquaintance'¹ with it and Bergson's 'intuition' of it. The former is superficial; the latter, deep. Both have a place each in Buddhism; for they are not contradictory but complementary.

Russell's molecular proposition corresponds in form to the hypothetical proposition of classical or traditional logic. This is the form exclusively adopted in the *Kathāvatthu*. Applying this form to atomic propositions, we infer the truth of one atomic proposition from the truth of another as follows:—

If this A is ill, that A is ill; and if that A is ill, the other A is also ill; and so on till we jump to what Russell calls positive general proposition, All A's are ill.

With Russell's 'acquaintance,' the number of instances must be indefinitely multiplied in order to establish such general propositions; but with Bergson's intuition, we maintain that a single, reliable, infallible instance is sufficient for the purpose. With the aid of the latter, the Buddha arrived at three highest generalisations noted below:

- I. All things in the making are impermanent;
- II. All things in the making are ill;
- III. All things, made and unmade, are non-substrate (soulless).

The last of these generalisations in metaphysics ranks with Newton's theory of gravitation in physics. It is the highest conception which distinguishes Buddhism from other systems.

Bergson thinks that, in one sense, true metaphysics has nothing to do with such general truths, but Russell considers that philosophy must deal with general truths alone. And we say that each is looking at only one side of the shield.

The three generalisations in which Buddhist philosophy culminates may be reduced to Russell's 'supremely general proposition,': 'If anything has a certain property, and whatever has this property has a certain other property, then the thing in question has the other property.' For we Buddhists say:

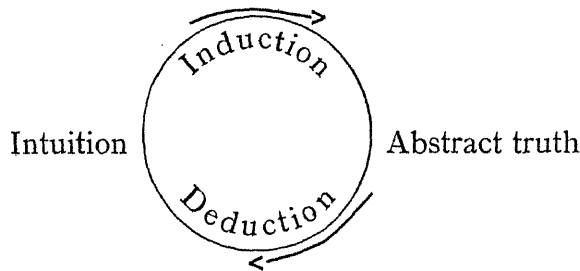
¹ Cf. 'Acquaintance which is what we derive from sense does not, theoretically at least, imply even the smallest 'knowledge about,' i.e., it does not imply knowledge of any proposition concerning the subject with which we are acquainted. Thus it is a mistake to say that if we were perfectly acquainted with an object we should know all about it. "Knowledge about" is knowledge of propositions which is not involved necessarily in acquaintance with the constituents of the propositions.' Russell's *Low. Lec.*, pp. 144, 145.

'If anything is impermanent, and whatever is impermanent is ill or soulless, then the thing in question is ill or soulless.'¹

To Russell, the whole of his supremely general proposition is self-evident.² We see the big hypothetical *if* in this supremely general proposition which contains a universal proposition: 'Whatever has this property has a certain other property.' How do we get this general proposition?

We say that all generalisations are arrived at by induction. True, we admit that this principle of induction does not give us absolute assurance but only moral certainty. That is, absolutely general propositions are not necessarily absolutely true. They may possess the highest degree of probability. Hence the constant need for their verification³ by each Buddhist for himself. Ordinarily, verification is done by deducing particular truths from general truths and then by comparing one particular truth with another, but in the last resort by observation and experiment. Only the Buddhist experiment goes a step beyond scientific observation from outside by intuiting an original fact itself.

Induction and deduction, which form intellectuality entire, are complementary to intuition. Induction would not be perfect, i. e., could not reach the highest generalisation, unless it began in intuition and deduction would not be complete, i. e., could not attain the fullest verification, until it ended in intuition. The two halves of our intellect may be represented as moving in a circle meeting in abstract generalisations in one point on its circumference and coinciding with intuition at the opposite point. Thus intuition and abstract truth are at opposite poles as in the following diagram:—



Truth is an abstract, general, subjective statement, in the form of a proposition expressed by words, of a concrete, particular, objective counterpart. It is only in this sense that Bergson's self-inconsistency, which we have noticed in his definition of philosophy as a study of becoming in general can be reconciled with his own position.

In a very interesting and attractively written work, entitled *Form and Colour*, L. March Phillips has laboured to draw a sharp contrast between

¹ Yam aniccam tam dukkham (or anattam).

² Russell's *Low. Lec.*, pp. 56, 57.

³ Cf. 'Now verifiability is by no means the same as truth; it is, in fact, something far more subjective and psychological. For a proposition to be verifiable, it is not enough that it should be true, but must also be such as we can *discover* to be true.' *Op. cit.*, pp. 110, 111.

East and West as if East is all colour and West is all form. According to him, East, as represented by colour in art and life, has hitherto been sensuous (not sensual), emotional and spiritual, and West, as represented by form, simply rational and intellectual. But he thinks that he has at last found the much-desired union of the two elements in Christianity, itself a product of the East. And he very exultingly says: 'Never again can we deny the intellect and wrap ourselves in spiritual contemplation. Never again can we exclude the inner vision and encage ourselves within the capacity of the intellect. In the life and thought...both these must be included and their union harmonised.'¹

His criticisms of art are generally sound and his observations of Eastern life were correct as far as they went. But he seems to have overlooked the fact that India was the cradle of sciences and that it had not only the logic of thought to which Aristotle himself was most probably indebted, but also the logic of life by which even Christ was also influenced through the sect of the Essenes.

That Christianity contains both intellectual and spiritual elements is open to question. The past persecutions of Galileos cannot be easily blotted out of our memory. The blood of the martyrs of the Inquisition cannot be easily washed and wiped out. Intellectuality seems to have been divorced from Christianity as Christianity is divorced from the intellectual Huns. The fact that both Bergson and Russell are Christians does not show that they are exclusive products of Christianity. Bergson is to Russell what the Gothic interior is to the exterior of the Doric Temple in architecture. In the art language of L. March Phillips, Bergson is a Venetian and Russell, a Florentine. According to him, since Venice is deeply tinged with the colour of the East, Bergson would be an Oriental and as Florence is outlined with the form of the West, Russell would be an Occidental.

But a Buddhist is at once a Russell and a Bergson. Only Bergson extols intuition and Russell, intellect, while Buddhism maintains the mean position between the two.

SHWE ZAN AUNG.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

1. *Change.*

That the Indian philosophy of change starts with motion, instead of rest, receives additional support from language.

The word *dhuvaṃ*, which is usually applied to the stationary polar star, means in ordinary usage 'rest.' It is derived from root *dhu-* 'to move or rest.' That rest in the Indian view is the extreme slackening down of motion may be further seen from the native explanation of root *thū-* 'to rest, stop or stand,' as 'motion inhibited' (*gati-nivatta*). The derivation of the technical term *nicca*—'permanence,' from *na*—'not'+root *i*—'to go'+suffix *tya*, also confirms the above view.

¹ P. 268, *Form and Colour* by L. March Phillips published by Duckworth & Co., in 1915.

2. *The Continuity and Indivisibility of Motion.*

The word *anantara* (lit. no intervening or intermediate space) is used in the Buddhist philosophy of relations to denote the contiguity of any two consecutive states. But as this would leave some doubt in the mind of average disciples whether contiguity meant mere juxtaposition, as when two planks are carefully joined by a skilful carpenter, the Buddha added the intensive prefix *sam* ('well') before *anantara* in order to emphasise the fact of continuity, as of colours which shade off from one to the other in a spectrum.

Ānanda, the author of the *Mūlaṭṭikā*, writes:

Tattha purima-pacchimānaṃ nirodhuppadantarābhāvato nirantaruppadanasamatthātā anantarapaccayabhāvo. Rūpadhammānaṃ viya saṇṭhānābhāvato paccaya-paccayuppannānaṃ sahāvaṭṭhānābhāvato ca idamīto heṭṭhā uddhaṃ tiriyaṃti vibhāgābhāvā attanā ekattamiva upanetvā suṭṭhu anantara-bhāvena uppadana-samatthātā samanantarapaccayatā.

A close translation is given below:—

"Here the power to produce continuity (*nirantara*) because of the absence of an intervening or intermediate space (*anantara*) between the expiry of a predecessor and the generation of a successor is called *anantarapaccaya-bhāva*. Because mental states have no form like physical objects, and because they do not occur simultaneously, it cannot be said that *this* is below, above or across *that*; and because of the absence of such distinction, a state carries itself continuously as if it were a simple, indivisible whole. Its power to generate (a successor) without any intervening space whatsoever is called *samanantarapaccayatā*.

3. *Reversibility.*

Dhammapāla, the author of the *Anuṭṭikā*, seems to have introduced the word *aviparīta*—'irreversible.' He took it for granted that his readers understood him. Sumaṅgalasāmi of Ceylon and Ariyāvamsa of Burma adopted the word, but they, too, did not trouble themselves to explain the word.

The word *viparīta* was most probably derived from *vi*—'against,' *pari*—'nature,' *i*—'to go' and suffix *ta*. *Aviparīta* would, then, signify that which cannot go against its nature. Now, what is the nature of the real? Transformation is its nature. Hence all things subject to change by growth and decay are termed *vipariṇāma-dhammas*. Whatever may be the derivation of this word, Buddhaghosa explains in the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* commentary that to transform (*vipariṇāmeti*) is to give up its original state (*pakatiṃ jahati*).

Again, in the commentary on the *Pārājikāṇḍa*, he explains the word "transformed" (*vipariṇata*) as that which is established (*thita*) in a new condition (*aññathā pavattena*) after giving up the original condition (*pakatiṃ jahitvā*). Thus we have *vipariṇāma-dhammas* continually transformed into *vipariṇata-dhammas*. It is in their nature to move forward. We cannot reverse this nature and retransform a succeeding *vipariṇata dhamma* into a preceding *vipariṇāma-dhamma* which is past recall. This impossibility of retransformation is, in our opinion, *aviparītabhāva* (irreversibility). This view of ours is supported by the grammarian's use of the

word *viparīta* for the reconversion of *ava* into *u*, the more usual change being from *u* to *o* and from *o* to *ava*.

There is a school in Burma which explains *aviparīta* somewhat as follows:—

Gold is made into a bracelet or earring. But when the ornament is melted back into gold, we no longer call it a bracelet or earring, but simply gold. Here the name 'gold' first gives place to 'bracelet' but the name 'bracelet' is, in turn, changed to 'gold.' In this process we recall the past concept 'gold.' (A Buddhist would be the last to admit that a piece of gold he has after melting is the same as that before. Therefore, he practically admits that the real gold cannot be recalled.) 'But it is not so,' says the Schoolman, 'with realities.' For instance, sensation never gives up its own characteristics and becomes perception. And this retention of characteristics constitutes *aviparīta* (intransformability.)'

This view of connection between retention of characteristics and non-transformability can hardly be correct. The schoolman admits that sensation is changed, like gold, in time. And if we were to reply that a piece of gold always remains gold because it never loses its characteristics as gold, he would not admit the immutability of gold, because in his opinion gold is a mere concept and sensation is a reality. The schoolman forgets or misses the real gold beneath the name. The error is due to a confusion between a reality and a concept. The Buddha endeavoured to clear up this confusion. But the same old controversy between realism and nominalism reappears in one form or another. The Sabbatthivādins fell into errors because they did not clearly grasp the distinction between a reality and a concept.¹

The schoolmen unconsciously revive the same conflict when they say that a reality is immutable because of their permanent characteristics. To say that no two realities are *identical*, but they are *alike* in characteristics is only another way of saying that a past reality cannot be recalled, but only a concept of it; in other words, that a course of realities cannot be reversed.

Since writing out the above I have received a note from Ledi Sadaw, and I give below a translation of an extract therefrom:—

"Both the words *viparīta* and *vipariṇata* are rendered into Burmese by one and the same expression မောင်း (changed). But they are different in significance (lit. in functions denoted).

By *viparīta* is meant reversal by which intellect changes "what is" into "what is not," or *vice versa*; in other words, the reversal of the real or unreal. The non-reversal is termed *aviparīta*.

By *vipariṇata* is meant transformation from an original state at any one given moment to another condition at the next. E. g., the element of *paṭhavī* (extension) is not so strong at its nascent instant; it matures at the static instant; and it decays and disappears at the cessant. The absence of such transformation is termed *avipariṇata*.

In the present discussion of the meaning of the term 'real' irreversibility is desirable, but not non-transformability. (For) all conditioned realities are subject to change.

¹ *Pts. of Controv.*, pp. 84—98, 375, 377.

Concepts, (on the other hand,) are reversible, but not transformable. E. g., concepts 'person' and 'being' do not *exist* by reason of their characteristics of nature (*sabhāva*). But when regarded as existing, they may be said to be reversed, because it is not true (i. e., it is not truly existing.) They cannot change their nature because they possess none. It is merely the reversal by our intellect."

Ledi, like Bergson, attaches the greatest importance to the distinction between a concept and a reality.

Now, in Buddhism, as in Bergsonism, the real is that which is existing at the present moment. What has been is no longer real and what will be is not yet. Both of them are, therefore, conceptual or nominal at the present moment.

The Sabbatthivādins believed that all, i. e. the past, the present and the future, exist. In regarding the past and the future as equally existent, they turned concepts into realities. This was an act of reversal by intellect. In recalling the concept of a past reality, but regarding the thing represented by that concept to be still real, this sect reversed the past history of the reality, in the Bergsonian sense. And in conceiving the future to be existent, they reversed the future history.

The word history reminds us that we here are reversing the reversible. But how can we reverse the irreversible? Reality, according to Dhammapāla, is an object of infallible intuition (*aviparītañāṇa*). It is our fallible intellect that does the reversing.

There is a school in Burma which reduces everything to phenomena in the sense of mere appearances. The schoolmen admit the existence of realities, but they say, like Kant, that realities are unknowable by ordinary intellect. What intellect knows is the shadow (*paramatthachāyā*), but not the substance, of the real. In this view they are correct. But their following argument is quaint to the extreme:—

"The Buddha said: I see a man or woman. Now, 'man' and 'woman' are mere concepts. Therefore, we see only an aspect which is conceptual but not real."

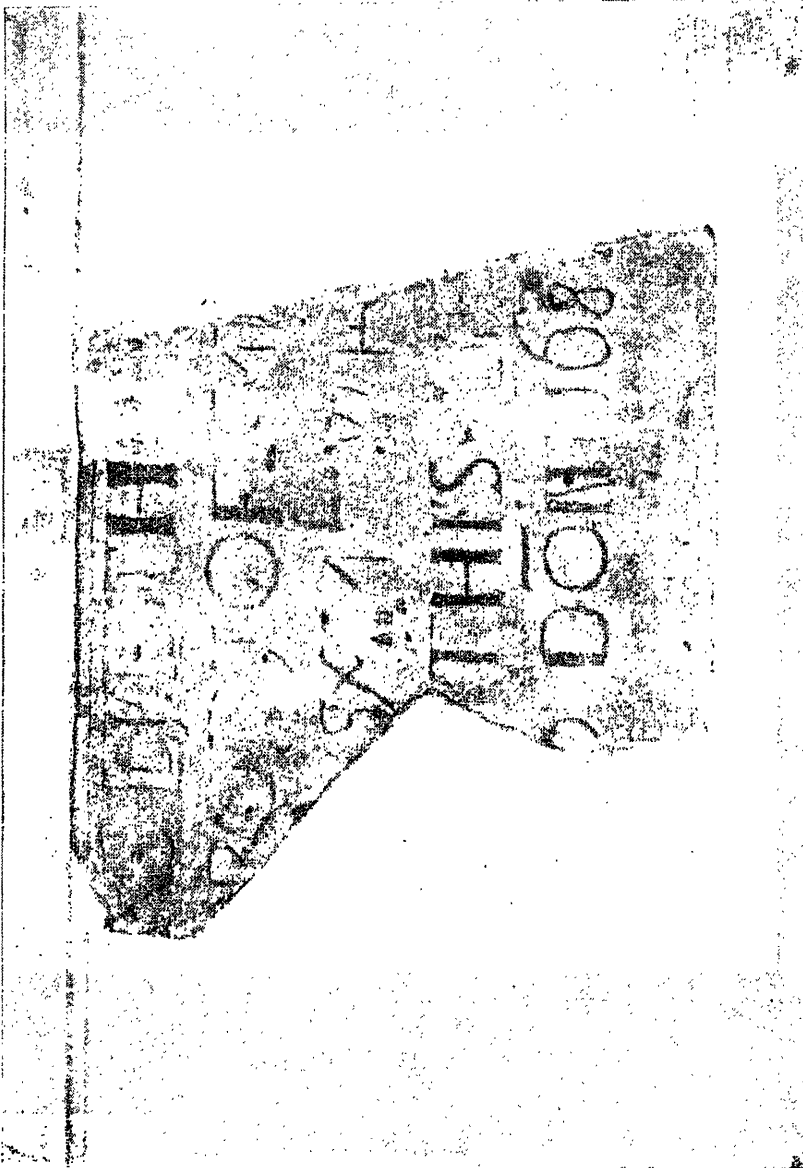
What they *see* is not the 'man' or 'woman' but the coloured surface. Colour, according to Buddhist analysis, is treated as a distinct reality. Of course, the coloured surface itself would appear as a phenomenon, unless seen with an inward eye, i. e., unless the seer identifies himself with the colour. Indeed, our intellect, by viewing an object from outside, always and necessarily reverses the real by turning it into the phenomenal. This, then, is the reversal of the real by intellect.

Not satisfied with the phenomenal, intellect seeks the unknowable noumenal by another act of reversal in the opposite direction, i. e., by turning a concept, a metaphysical abstraction, into a thing-in-itself behind the phenomenal. This is the reversal of the conceptual or unreal by intellect.

The noumenal apart from the phenomenal is false. But the phenomenal is transformed into the noumenal by intuition which does not reverse the irreversible.

S. Z. A.

INSCRIPTION
on fragment of tombstone
found at Mergui.



The water-stand, exhibiting this memorial of Samuel White, was erected in 1915 by John Napier List, of the Public Works Department, at the cost of the Miners, Planters and Mercantile community of Mergui.

SAMUEL WHITE,

Port Officer of Mergui.

"The eyes of the fool are on the ends of the earth." Such a fool was Samuel White. In the days of merchant-adventurers, sea-faring in caravels or lofty galleons, fighting their way through eastern seas to search for gold and spices, never certain whether at the next port they might not find anthropophagi or men with heads beneath their shoulders, uncertain even at every sun-set whether during the dark of the night they might not sail right over the edge of the world into some bottomless pit, in those days when only the lustiest sailed the Indian seas, and among the strongest few were strong enough to get back home again, Samuel White was still pre-eminent; he may rank with Lancaster and Nicholas Downton. He could fight with any one and drink with any one, and, what is more, his arm was strong enough and his head shrewd enough to bring him home to end his days peacefully in England. By now he would have been clean forgotten but for the pious labours of Anderson,¹ and for the strange whim that made a dhobi use a broken tombstone for beating out old rags. From the tombstone it is clear that somebody somehow connected with Samuel White died in Mergui in 1682. Now Samuel White was Port Officer of Mergui from 1683 to 1687, but he died in England in 1689. "Ergo resurgam" runs the legend on the tombstone, and since it has been set up in stone and concrete opposite the Main Jetty in Mergui the prophecy is in some sort fulfilled. But who was Samuel White, how did he come to be Port Officer in Mergui, and whom does this memorial commemorate? The two former problems have been resolved by Anderson, the third still awaits solution.

II.

Samuel White was the younger brother of George White. Both of them were merchants and sea captains, trading to the east; both of them were interlopers, free adventurers, ready to serve with or against the Honourable Company, and, like all those who were not servants of the Company, they became at length its active enemies. George White was indirectly the instrument of Samuel's greatness, but George himself never ruled a wider territory than the deck of the *Phoenix* or the estate which he purchased after his retirement. In 1681, after no more than ten years of prosperous adventure, he settled down in England and wrote "*An Account of the Trade of the East Indies, together with the state of the present Company and the best method for managing that Trade to the honour and advantage of the nation.*" Through the whole of his career George White had been fortunate but never more fortunate than in taking with him on his first visit to the east a cabin boy, a Greek, Constantine Phaulkon. For it was as a favourite of Phaulkon that Samuel White became the first Englishman charged with administering any portion of the country which is now Burma.

Phaulkon sailed to the east as cabin boy with George White in 1670. By 1675 he was captain of his own ship, and on his first voyage was wrecked

¹ "English Intercourse with Siam in the 17th Century" by J. Anderson. Trubner's Oriental Series 1890.

three times. The third disaster was the foundation of his fortunes. On this third occasion, before his own clothes were dry, he met another cast-away who proved to be a Siamese ambassador on his way home from Persia. The ambassador was destitute but Phaulkon had saved 2,000 crowns from the wreck of his own ship. With this sum he purchased a new vessel and gave the ambassador a passage to Siam. By favour of the ambassador he was taken into King's service, after a short probation he became chief merchant, in 1683 he was promoted to be the "Grand Vizier or Chief Minister of the King of Siam."

Samuel White did not come to India until five years after George White; he has left his own account of his earliest experiences. "I went to India *anno* 1675," he says, "as mate on board the ship *Loyal Subject* Captain William Goodlad, Commander for the East India Company; and did, with the knowledge and consent of the Governour of Fort St. George, and by leave of the foresaid Commander, remain in India, giving security to indemnifie the said Commander from the penalty of One Hundred Pounds, he was lyable to pay for any Person so left behind him which being accordingly exacted by the Company at the Ships return was duly discharged by my Correspondent here. Mr. George White my brother did at this time reside in the Kingdom of Syam, whither at his Invitation I removed and voyaging soon after to Metchliptam, it happened in the time of my being there, that a King of Syam's Agent applied himself to the Chief of the Companies Factory for a Person well qualified to navigate a Ship of the King's betwixt that place and the Port of Mergen; To which employ he was pleased to recommend me and I continued therein about four years, being so happy to have my services well accepted by the said Kings Ministers, and by them so favourably represented to his Majesty, that he was graciously pleased to let me in large measure partake of his Royal Bounty and favour."

It was not the King of Syam alone, nor even Phaulkon who favourably accepted the services of Samuel White. The annual cargo of marriageable women had been appointed to the *Loyal Subject* and among them a certain Mistress Povey had been sent for to Madras to marry "young Mr. Jearsy." Samuel White coming out as "a passenger or young Mate," with nothing much to do and the whole day to do it in, filled up his spare time by courting Mistress Povey. Like a good sportsman however he let young Mr. Jearsy have his chance and on the ship arriving in Madras the lady went to lodge in Mr. Jearsy's house. But the little writer cut a poor figure after the courting of the mate, and "on a sudain she slyted her young man, returned him his tokens, and went forth and was married to Samuel White by the French Padre." The Minister of the Fort refused to marry them; obviously the community was scandalised. But the bluff humanity and independent character indicated by this episode were qualities which enabled him to stand alone without the Company's support, and to make friends among all he met. So that after trading for a few years for the King of Siam between Mergui and Metchlipatam he was "generally well beloved by the people of the country and by the Europeans of the several nations that were also in the King's service."

Such a man Phaulkon at that time was in need of. The private trade between Siam and India was a monopoly of the merchants of Golconda, and Phaulkon during his period of office as Chief Merchant had conceived the design of replacing these natives of India by Siamese. On his elevation to Grand Vizier he gave the matter his earliest attention, and resolved to take the unprecedented step of strengthening the administration of Tenasserim by a leaven of Europeans. He wanted a man like Samuel White, independent of the Company and a general favourite both with Europeans and with the Siamese. He chose two Englishmen; one was Richard Burneby, who became Governor of Mergui, the other was Samuel White, who received the more onerous and probably more lucrative appointment of Shawbunder or Port Officer.

Burneby was not without certain qualifications. He had long been Chief Factor of the Company at Bantam and elsewhere; he had been Inspector of their Factory at Ayuthia, arriving there in 1678 within three years of Phaulkon; he was therefore an old acquaintance of Phaulkon, and as he had been dismissed from the service of the Company, could be reckoned on as their opponent. He must have had abilities, he had made a very favourable impression on George White who had "found him a very worthy gentleman," and, at least during his earliest administration in Mergui, gave satisfaction so far that he was re-appointed Governor when a new commission was drawn out in 1685, two years after his first appointment. But his head seems to have been turned by prosperity and by the importance of his position. According to a contemporary account he took "a delight in being the Town Pimp and disposing of all the whores to anybody wanting one," he kept company with "a parcel of Sailors that over a Bowl of Punch will lye worshipping him up till he thinks himself a Petty Prince among them."

Samuel White was of a different kidney. Although he was a younger man and in a position, nominally it would appear, of less importance, he set himself to make the most of his advantages, not only for himself but for the King, and, within limits, even for the Company. It was in November, 1683, that he was first invested with the robes and office of "Scabunder of Tenassery and Mergen" and thereby was entrusted "with the Collecting and managing of all the *King's* revenue in that *Province* and was likewise *Chief Commissioner* for his Maritime Affairs."

It was the policy of Phaulkon to oust the merchants of Golconda, and he did not wish to strengthen the Company, but he desired to suppress the former without alienating the latter. Not only was he in no position to affront the Company, but a strong power in India, such as the Company was building up, was essential to the prosperity of Siam. Samuel White took an early opportunity of forwarding this policy, and has left a description of the incident on record. "Nor was it long after my being raised to this Capacity (Shahbunder of Mergui etcetera)," he writes, "that there did present a suitable opportunity to testifie my Zeal to the Companies service, for their ship the *Golden Fleece*, in her return from Bengal to England, sprung a desperate Leake, in which distress the only near and commodious Port that presented to their relief was Mergen, whither in confidence of my friendly assistance

they came, and found me as ready to grant, as they could be to request, all that my interest and influence there could afford them in my giving them the use of my own Slaves for the more expeditious unloading their ship, securing their Goods in Ware-houses ashore and assisting the relading thereof without the least Charge, when the Ship was refitted to proceed on her voyage, for which I also supplied them with whatever they wanted at the very same rates that the King himself paid, and wholly excused them from all the duties of the Port. But I need not particularize how fully I answered or even exceeded their expectations in all things, or call any other Testimony for proof thereof than the report made here at home by Captain James Cook, the Commander, who was so sensible of my good deservings on this occasion, that he very earnestly solicited the Committee for some signification of their kind accepting those my considerable services. But an overruling power among them rendered this grateful motion uneffectual; however, I am not less pleased that I had the good fortune to be instrumental in securing and forwarding so great a Concern as that was, which I understand did here produce no less than £190,000."

But despite all courteous endeavours to conciliate the Company Phaulkon could not achieve his policy by courtesy alone. Although the Company made a show of encouraging both sides their interests were bound up with the interests of Golconda. They depended in Golconda for their position on the Madras coast, and also for a quiet journey across India to Surat; their alliance with this power was essential to their policy of short circuiting the Dutch, and they were bound to lend the King of Golconda their aid against Siam. Moreover the Company themselves had designs on the trade to Tenasserim and were already contemplating the reopening of a Factory at Ayuthia. Thus the first overt acts against the merchants of Golconda led to strained relations with the Company. Merchant vessels were seized and brought into Mergui. The captains claimed the protection of the Company, and it was no easy matter to decide their status, whether they lived within the limits of the Factory and were entitled to the protection of the Company or whether they were subjects of Golconda. It appears indeed that the Company fostered such disputes by giving English Passports to the inhabitants of Masulipatam. Thus Samuel White was handicapped in giving effect to Phaulkon's policy. It is also probable that he resented the non-recognition of his services in connection with the re-fitting of the Golden Fleece, and looked for an occasion to recoup himself, while he may have appreciated more clearly than Phaulkon the difficulty of reconciling the interests of the Company with the aggrandisement of Siam. It was the bent of his nature to take the bolder course and there is little doubt that he went further than Phaulkon would have desired in the direction of seizing ships. It is even alleged that on one occasion when Phaulkon had revoked the commission of a certain captain, White, in a private letter, encouraged him to continue his depredations. There are further allegations which he tacitly admits that ships brought into Mergui were not released unless the Captain could convince White that they were the property of the Company; it cost the Captain of one ship 300 pagodas to convince him and another Captain had to pay so much as 3,000 pagodas before White's incredulity was shaken. When the

Company had taken to issuing false passports White's method of testing the credentials of a ship was at least as honest as the ship's papers.

In pursuance of his policy of conciliating the Company Phaulkon called White to Ayuthia to rebut these charges. Here he was taken ill and was unable to visit Phaulkon, but either an uneasy conscience, or despondency caused by his weakness, made him anxious, and he wrote an apologetic letter alleging, as Wolsey had done before him, that he had always been more Zealous for the Honour and interest of the King than in his own Devotion towards his Creator. "He hoped therefore that Phaulkon would not without just provocation take delight in plucking down that Building which his own hand had raised." Phaulkon's reply was non-committal;

"Right Worshipful,

"We know no reason you have to charge us with strangeness in our deportment towards you, when you consider or observe our general Carriage towards all other persons, which we hope is not offensive to any man in particular.

"The Jealousie you express of having private enemies, who endeavour to estrange us from you, as 'tis on our part altogether causeless; so it not only argues you culpable of something you would not have discovered, but highly reflects upon us, as if we took pleasure in harkening to the malicious tattling and detraction of over busie men, to the prejudice of these we have thought worthy of so considerable a Trust, as we upon mature deliberation, thought good to confer upon you: Nay, Sir, we must be plain, and tell you, The Shahbander has no other Enemy that we know of than the Shahbander, which your own hand will evidently make appear.

"That you are now reduced so near the Grave is matter of trouble to us, and that you may not hasten yourself thither, let us, as your Friend, perswade you to Temperance. As to the protestation you make of your Zeal for His Majesties Honour and interest, give us leave to tell you, that it is no miracle to see a man drive on his own Ambitious or Covetous designs, under a pretext to promoting his Kings interest; though we do not desire to charge you with being a Court parasite.

"The satisfaction you desire shall be granted you, so soon as you are in a condition to be examined by our Secretary, who should long ago have been sent to you, had we not understood your Indisposition, and be cautioned to be plain, fair and moderate in your Answers, to whatever Queries he proposes to you; avoiding all Passionate Expressions and Gestures, which may do you much harm, but can not avail anything to your advantage.

"It will be no small pleasure to us, to find you as innocent as you pretend, nor shall we ever take delight to ruin what our Hands have built up; but if we perceive a structure of our own raising begin to totter and threaten our own ruine with its fall, none can tax us with imprudence if we take it down in time. There is your own Metaphor retrted, and the needful in Answer to your paper of yesterday's date, concluded with our hearty wishes for your recovery, as being.

Your friend,
Phaulkon."

A good letter, which I have given at length as throwing some light on Phaulkon's character. I like the answer to White's suggestion that he lay under the afflicting hand of his Creter for his heinous sin of excessive devotion to the King; excessive devotion to the bottle was more in keeping with White's character.

But the subsequent examination by Phaulkon's Secretary cleared White of all the charges which had been preferred against him. By this time war had formally been declared against Golconda and the English Company was openly hostile. Evidently White persuaded Phaulkon that a bold attitude was necessary, and new articles were framed directing that European merchants should no longer be exempt from import duties, which previously had only been paid by Indians. To enforce this measure it was necessary to give the Port Officer stronger Powers. A new commission therefore was drawn up and the powers so defined as to leave "the Governors both of *Tenassery* and *Mergen* no better than Cyphers and merely Titular Officers," while the rest of the Council "were so ty'd up to his (White's) opinion in all matters of moment that in effect all the power was lodged in him."

The advice tendered by White was justified by the news, which reached him on his way back to Mergui, that the Company had already resolved to establish a settlement at Negrais, Bassein, with the object of "annoying *Tenassery*." White never played a waiting game, and he signalled his arrival in Mergui by despatching an expedition to forestall the Company and take Negrais for Siam. His fleet consisted of two sloops under the command of an Englishman, Captain Cropley; but Pegu was at that time in no position to resist an assault; the expedition landed, ran up the Siamese flag and posted a proclamation that the King of Siam had annexed Negrais. Phaulkon, however was not prepared to countenance measures so extreme; he was consolidating his alliance with the French but not yet in command of a sufficient force to risk war with the English Company, and he ordered the recall of the expedition. The event once again justified White's political acumen; matters had gone too far to be accommodated. The Company had already sustained so much damage from the hostilities between Siam and Golconda that they had resolved on war with Siam; they were already committing acts of war and were only awaiting a favourable opportunity for a formal declaration. They recognized White as their chief enemy, they rightly held him responsible for most of the damage which they had sustained, and were acquainted with his endeavour to forestall them at Negrais. To avenge themselves they captured three ships from Siam, two of which were the sole property of White and in the third he was interested. Incidents such as these convinced White that if the Company should gain its point he would meet with little sympathy. But, on the other hand, if Phaulkon were to win it could only be with the assistance of the French, and the French were likely to prove no more sympathetic than the Company. Either issue was equally distasteful. Three alternatives were open to him; he hesitated whether he should hold the Port against all comers, but even if successful his subsequent tenure would have depended on the French; he considered the advisability of surrendering it to the Company, but it was doubtful

whether they would regard this as an adequate set-off against their injuries; there was the third alternative, that he should realise his property and sail for England. Possibly he was influenced by this last alternative, but characteristically he took the boldest course; he determined to appeal from the English Company to England. He was playing a difficult game and, so far as the evidence goes, he played it honourably; it is true that an appeal to England lodged by White in person would have given him an opportunity, if need were, to save something from the wreckage of his personal fortunes, but it is also true that only in this manner could Tenasserim remain a free Port for Englishmen where they could find protection against the Company and against the French as well.

He therefore urged Phaulkon to send him on a mission to England; "offering it as my opinion," he writes in his account of the transactions, "that since we well know this undeserved rupture must be occasioned by the malicious reports of some, who were in that regard no less Enemies to their own Countries Honour and welfare, than the affairs of *Syam*; and that against all the Rules of Justice, and Law of *Nations*, these acts of Hostility were committed, before any cause assigned, by making complaint and demanding satisfaction. It would therefore be convenient that his Majesty of *Syam* employed some fitting person to the *King of England*, to give him a true account of these unkind usages, and endeavour to renew and corroborate that Correspondence, which his *Majesty of Syam* had in so many instances manifested his intention, and desire to conserve with the *English Nation*." Phaulkon acceded to his request, and he fitted out his own ship for the voyage to England with letters from the Court and "with considerable Presents to the *King* and his *Royal Consort*."

But Samuel White does not seem to have been aware that in appealing against the Company to James the Second he was appealing to one of the largest stock-holders in the Company. His appeal had been decided before it had been heard. James had taken a personal interest in the designs of the Company against Mergui and had already despatched "his Express Lre to Mr. White and Mr. Burneby at Tenasserim to return or deliver up yat place to ye English. "This intervention of the King raised the dispute to an altogether higher plane; it was no longer a private trading quarrel but an episode in the age-long conflict between France and England. Already in 1685 the English Factors in Siam had reported that the "French ambassadors design to drive away the other naçons." Behind the Company was England, or rather James, the King of England, and behind Phaulkon were the French. So long as Samuel White had merely been contending with the Company he could fight for his own hand and for the interests of his employer, the King of Siam. But when the Siamese were in almost open alliance with the French against the King of England he could no longer honourably take part with either side; he could only choose which side he would betray.

It was not until after "the Curtana frigatt" had arrived in Mergui, bringing the declaration of war, that White realised how deeply he was involved. On the first arrival of this ship he was still ignorant of the na-

ture of its mission and of the authority which it represented. He called on Captain Weltden, who was in command to explain his business; "if he came in a friendly manner no man should be more kindly treated or more honourably received than he should be in Mergen, but if he came in a hostile manner White himself would come at the head of two or three thousand men to oppose him and defend the place, for he was the King of Syam's servant, and would serve him faithfully." But Captain Weltden came ashore and delivered the "express letter" from the King, and read the King's proclamation in White's drawing room. In this it was proclaimed that all Englishmen remaining in Siam would become outlaws. At the same time Weltden delivered a letter from the Company hoping that Messrs. Burneby and White "will understand their allegiance, duty and interest better and prevent the trouble of a dispute by a ready quiet surrender of the place which is otherwise designed for the French and will certainly fall into their possession." The proclamation and these letters changed the aspect of affairs. White could only acquiesce, he signified his dutiful submission and arranged for a truce of 60 days while orders from Ayuthia were obtained.

Despite the truce it was still necessary to place Mergui in a position of defence; for this White was responsible until he received formal demission from the Siamese service. His own boat was in port, the *Resolution*, carrying 22 guns but none of the Siamese Fleet was at hand. The *Resolution* would be at the disposal of the English when the truce expired, and it was only possible therefore to strengthen the defences of the town. There were 8 or 10 large guns by White's house with a stock of ammunition in readiness; beside the river they built another platform to carry 15 big guns "whole and demi-culvering," while stakes were planted and cables laid to block the channel of the harbour. Work was carried on all day and by the flare of dammer torches through out the night until these formidable preparations threatened Weltden's security. He had not foreseen this danger when he had arranged the truce, and promptly broke it, cutting the cables, pulling up the stakes and taking advantage of White's absence in Tenasserim to commandeer the *Resolution*.

This breach of faith roused the indignation of the people and from all the surrounding villages war-boats came crowding in. White returned from Tenasserim and Weltden appealed to him for help. Despite a brief outburst of natural indignation at the seizure of the *Resolution* White endeavoured to reassure Weltden, but so threatening was the demeanour of the war boats that Weltden sent another message to White asking for immediate assistance. White staved off the trouble by his personal influence, he rose from bed and ran down through the crowd, "without hat, slippers or anything but a night gown and a pair of drawers." Having thus persuaded the Townspeople that the English meant no harm, he convinced the English of his good faith by getting drunk with them. Unfortunately however at each toast they fired a broadside; they forgot to load the guns with blank ammunition, and it is not surprising that as good fellowship increased on board ill feeling grew among those on shore, so that by daylight, when 64 rounds had been fired, the pitch of suspicion and alarm among the townsfolk was little lower than

it had been before White intervened. During the day all remained quiet, but in the afternoon when White was sober enough to go on shore again he judged it prudent to send away from Mergui the families of Captain Cropley and another Englishman who were residing with him. Nothing happened on any large scale for two days until White in his turn gave a dinner party. The function was over and late at night he was seeing his guests off from the wharf when there was a rush, an infuriated mob poured out of the dark night and Captain Weltden was felled to the ground by a blow on the head. Immediately the whole party was fighting for their lives; they loosed their small arms, and the shots re-echoed over the whole town; fighting was general wherever there was an European; the great guns of both forts were discharged and fire was opened from a battery hidden in the woods. White's house was in the centre of the conflict, which, however, raged furiously throughout the town and on the water, and by morning eighty Englishmen had lost their lives. Richard Burneby paid the penalty of indolence, but White and Weltden managed to reach the ships. The little fleet drew out of the harbour for greater safety, and although next day there was some talk of rescue they were not in strength to do good and it seemed impossible that any should be left alive. Thus on the 18th of July, 1687, after being Port Officer for four years, Samuel White left Mergui never to return.

He arrived in England in the following year. He had lost his fortune but still enjoyed a competence, and devoted his leisure to increasing it by petitions to Parliament against the injuries done to him by the East India Company. He died in 1689 before his petition had been answered.

III

Meanwhile the attitude of the Company had been justified, Mergui had passed into the hands of a French Governor. But within less than a year the English were avenged. There was a general outbreak in Siam against French influence. The King was suspected of leaning towards Christianity, and in May 1688 he died under suspicious circumstances. Phaulkon was assassinated at the same time, and the French were driven out from Mergui by the Siamese, losing 13 men as they fled to their ships. The Dutch were left victorious in the competition for the trade of the far east; but they based their headquarters at Malacca and the trade of Tenasserim declined. The earlier occupation of Tenasserim by the Portuguese is still commemorated by the existence of a colony, round the Roman Catholic Church, of people who bear Portuguese names which they can no longer pronounce; but neither English nor French have left any memorial save the stone which the dhobi used to dry his rags on. Who was it who died in 1682? It is shown that Mistress White accompanied her husband on his voyages between Mergui and Metchlipatam, and there can be little doubt but that the stone commemorates the lady who came out to marry "young Mr. Jearsy" and caused such a disturbance in the little community of Fort St. George.

J. S. FURNIVALL.

THE HISTORY OF TENASSERIM AND MERGUI.

INTRODUCTION.

The history of Tenasserim and Mergui which is given here, is a translation from scraps of manuscripts which were shown to me by one U Shwe Lon, old retired Myothugyi of Mergui. He assured me that these manuscripts are true copies from the original palm leaf manuscripts in the possession of several different owners, most of which, however, were destroyed in the great fire of Mergui which burnt practically the whole of Naukle Quarter some four or five years ago. Not only there is no reason to doubt this old gentleman's statement, but there is every indication in the copies, such as style, spelling, mode of expression and etc. to show that the originals are of great antiquity and that the copies are true and faithful.

Much of the mediæval history of the province is fairly well known, European and Indian traders having visited this province even as early as the 14th century. Their descriptions and accounts of the province are interesting so far as trade and commerce were commenced, but are of not much value as real history.

I give this short history of the province, with all diffidence in myself, with a hope that readers will find it of some interest as history from a Burmese point of view.

Much of the matter given in the appendix is taken from Dr. Anderson's "English Intercourse with Siam."

Usual invocation:—

Honour to the Blessed Saint, the Buddha Supreme.

The Blessed Lord, the Omniscient one to whom the past, the present and the future revealed themselves as the rays of the sun, seeing what was to happen in days to come to the kingdoms of the earth, being desirous of revealing what he foresaw, made an itinerant journey and arrived at Dwârâ-wâddi.¹

On his journey thence to Kawthambî kingdom, the master seeing the inhabitants of Taninthâri island, unaccompanied by any Rahans paid them a visit one morning begging his food. The Rahans asked the Blessed One, the reason of this lonely visit. The master replied "My beloved sons, when Kawthambi kingdom is laid waste, this Taninthâri island will become the capital of a great kingdom."

After this, seeing the 99 caves and openings of the Rat king the master prophesied that in this place, the city of Mergui would arise; so saying he journeyed on northwards.

Even as he had prophesied, on the destruction of Kawthambi kingdom, Taninthâri became the capital of a great kingdom, ruled by Bâhi Ka, the elder, a prince of blood royal; during this reign the king of Pegu waged wars on it. Bahi Ka was defeated and sought shelter in the kingdom of Gida.

¹ Dwarawaddi is the ancient Burmese name for Siam.

His young brother Bahika Raja after gathering the inhabitants of outlying districts, regained Taninthari and ruled in it. During this reign the King of Dwârâwaddî waged wars and conquered the kingdom, driving the king out of it. Bahika Raja, however, with the aid of the king of Daiññyawaddi recovered his kingdom and rebuilt the city of Taninthâri at noon on the 4th waning of Kason, in the year 735, from which date his descendants ruled over the province. In the year 900 while king Udaing was reigning, owing to a boundary dispute, the king of Dwârâwaddi personally at the head of a large army invaded Taninthâri for the second time and pitched his camps at Kammaungthwe Chaung, from which place an ambassador was sent demanding the surrender of the kingdom with its capital. The Taninthâri king refused to surrender and came out to offer battle. In this battle King Udaing himself was killed and his Chief Queen Hninnwe Devi was made captive.

From this date Taninthâri came under the suzerainty of Dwârâwaddi. Nine kings of this dynasty ruled in Taninthâri, the last being Bala Kyedauk who ruled from 1092 to 1119.

When Bahika Raja rebuilt Taninthâri, it measured 81 Kyos¹ in circumference and had eight main gates and four wicket gates. He also defined the boundaries in the eight regions thus:—

On the north-east up to Kammaungthwe chaung; on the east to Wimbalon; on the south-east to Thalin city; on the south to Kasingte; on the west to Kunthi and Kunywet islands; on the north to four islands of Mali, Petagee, Kyauksarit and Hngatthaik Taung.

The kingdom was also divided into twelve provinces, containing thirty-two towns. The provinces were, Palaw, Palauk, Beittaung, Thema Taung, Taungpila, Kalwin, Tanyet, Tamoke, Lonkayan Taung, Pyinwun, Panthone-doung and Thandoke.

In 1121, the Burmese king Alaungpara the Great, invaded Taninthâri and occupied Thâri island and appointed Nga Sat Chye as Governor. The king on hearing that Nga Sat Chye had conspired with the Siamese of Taninthâri to rise up in rebellion, appointed Udain Kyaw as Governor. The new governor after having purged the city and the province of conspiracy and sedition, ruled in Taninthâri with righteousness, showing great compassion on the citizens and observing the ten kingly precepts.

BUILDING OF MERGUI TOWN.

In the year 1123, on the 5th waxing of Tagu, Udain Kyaw Min, having brought his followers from Taninthâri, first founded the city of Myeit.

The fortress and moat surrounding the city were built by Kâmani Mingyi at 1 o'clock, on the 7th waxing of Thadingyut 1124. The city measured 183 *tas* in circumference.

In the year 1132, during the reign of Glorious Simbyuyin, Kema-raja Mingyi was appointed governor with royal authority to rebuild this city. Kema-raja collected all the inhabitants of outlying districts and allotted them in different localities and named them in the following manner:—

¹ Kyo better known as (၂၁၁၁) Uthapa.

7 cubit = 1 ta.
20 ta = 1 Uthapa.

The inhabitants of Pin Oh, Kyaukpya, and from the villages along Myitnge were allotted in one quarter which was named Myitnge quarter; the inhabitants of Pakok Taung and Taungpila at Alegyun quarter; the inhabitants of the Kywe Kayan and Nyaungbi at Myitma quarter; the inhabitants of Thondoke, Thayin, Tawnaukle at Naukle quarter; the Talaings from Moattama at Talaingzu quarter; the inhabitants from Aletan at Aletan quarter; the Musalmans at Kankaung quarter; the Kathes from the islands at Kathezu and Seiknge quarter; the inhabitants of Palaw and from the northern villages at Tavoyzu Quarter.¹

The Mingyi, after having thus permanently demarcated the town into different quarters, and having invited twelve elders of the town, eight Ponnas and officials, dedicated the town to the three Gems at one o'clock on Saturday the 1st Waning of Tawthalin, 1132.

(*Note.* Here follows a long and uninteresting account of the festival held in honour of the city and also about 25 to 30 Thaiks and Thamaings regarding the town. The latter are of course interesting but as they have nothing much to do with history I have omitted them also. However, I may, in passing remark that some of these Thaiks have come very true.)

The Government of the town consisted of a Mingyi, a Port officer, Customs officer, Revenue officer, two Commandants, two heralds, two senior scribes, two myothugyis, ward elders, ward scribes, four court officers, many judges and magistrates and five hundred soldiers.

The town was surrounded by a moat and wooden stockade measuring 11038 *tas* in circumference. It had eight main gates, eight wicket gates, four large turrets on the city wall each one mounted with four cannons, four small turrets, four main roads and twelve lesser ones.

APPENDIX.

In European literature Mergui was first mentioned by one De Barros in or about the year 1563. He gave the name of the town or rather village it then was as Merguim, while the English who resided in Mergui in or about 1650 called it Mergen. Nicolo de Conti (1440) probably was the first European who visited this province.

In the descriptions of his travels he described Mergui "as being situated at the mouth of the river of the same." He called it Thenasserim but from his descriptions it is perfectly obvious that the port at which his ship called was not Tenasserim but Mergui.

Cesure de Fredrich in 1568 described Mergui by name thus "this citie (Tenasserim) of right belongeth to the Kingdom of Siam, which is situate on the grate river's mouth, which cometh out of the kingdom of Siam, and where this river runneth into the sea, there is a village called Mergui and etc."

Early travellers knew Tenasserim well as it was situated on the main route to Siam and by the beginning of the 16th century Tenasserim was well known to Europe.

¹ These quarters are still known by these names.

The word Tenasserim derives from Tanah and Sri both Malay words, the former meaning country and the latter meaning property, beauty, grace, glory.

From the descriptions given by early travellers it is apparent that during the 15th century Mergui was only a very small village probably used as a fishing base and Tenasserim was the chief town of the province. Even as late as in 1686 when Richard Burneby was appointed Governor of Mergui by the Siamese Government his title was *Opra Marit*—a title borne by Siamese Governors of 4th and 5th grade cities.

Much speculation and thought have been given as to why the town is called Myeit. The Siamese name of Mergui is Marit, the Burmese name is Myeit or Beit.

The usual explanation is that the Siamese Marit becomes Myeit in Burmese, the *ra* sound being silent, and Myeit becomes Beit by influx of time. This explanation is plausible but to me it seems improbable for if the word Myeit is the corruption of the Siamese name Marit, then it bears no meaning as a name, in which case it is indeed difficult to understand how Myeit ever changed into Beit by any known process.

The true explanation seems to me to be this. Beit (ဒိတ်) is a true Burmese word being the colloquial form of Myeit (မြိတ်) and the corruption of the word *Pcit* (ပိတ်), meaning the last, to close up, come to an end, extremity. The kingdom of Burma at the zenith of its power, was never extended beyond Mergui on the south and Mergui had been the extreme limit, the last of the Burmese Empire. Hence it is called Beit (ဒိတ်) written Myeit (မြိတ်) meaning the last town, the extreme town or the end town.

KYAW DIN.

SHIN UTTAMAGYAW AND HIS TAWLA, A NATURE-POEM—II.

This verse opens with a complimentary outburst regarding the virtue and glory of the most Exalted One. It recapitulates the same idea as set forth in the first verse, but augments the sense with more force and vigour as regards the aspect of the sky, the sound of thunder and the joyous efforts of the hill tribes in following their customary occupation of tilling the ground. The scenery in the sky, especially in regard to the different shapes and colours of the clouds, is painted here with greater detail and in the manner of a skilful artist. The phraseology employed is also of an artistic nature.

A new scene has been added. The animals of the different waters including those formed by the early rain are presented as delightfully doing honour to the Buddha. The concluding passage referring to the various ogres of the higher order, who take delight in the approach of the rains and join in the pious act of venerating the lord of the three classes of mankind, is also new.

စကြဝဠာအာဏာဇာတိ။ တန္တိမိသော်။ The whole of this passage refers to the Blessed One, and means "The all-wise Buddha replete with countless virtues and incomparable in all the three regions of the whole universe is resplendent in glory which ranges right through the heavens as far as the summit of the highest celestial region." စကြဝဠာ is the Sanskrit form of the Pāli ဧကဝါလ (Cakkavāḷa) which means "a world" or "a system." A Cakkavāḷa, according to Buddhist Cosmogony, is a vast circular plane covered with water and bounded by an encircling mount and having in the centre Mount Meru encompassed by seven concentric circles of rock with four great continents at the four points of the compass. On and above Mount Meru stand the celestial regions and below it the infernal ones. There is an infinite number of such Cakkavāḷas touching one another and forming the universe. Each Cakkavāḷa has its own sun and moon.

အာဏာဇာတိ၊ ခေတိဝိသယ။ This refers to the three regions of a Buddha. The proper order should be (1) ဇာတိဇေတိ (jātikhettam), အာဏာဇေတိ (ānākhettam) and (3) ဝိသယဇေတိ (visayakhettam). The first consists of ten thousand cakkavāḷas including the one in which a Buddha is born. These are destroyed or reproduced simultaneously. The second consists of a trillion cakkavāḷas through which the authority of a Buddha extends. The third comprises the countless number of such systems which form the whole universe, and to which a Buddha can direct his attention if he desires so to do.

အာဏာ (Pāli) means authority.

ဇာတိ (Pāli) means birth.

ခေတိ (from the Pāli ဧတ္တိ) here means a region, sphere or world. It also means a cultivated field or a wife.

ဝိသယ (Pāli) means an object of sense.

အနန္တဂုဏ် is from the Pāli အနန္တဂုဏ and means countless virtues.

သဗ္ဗညု is from the Pāli သဗ္ဗညုတ which means omniscience or the all-knowing One, that is Buddha.

ဘုံဘဝင်ဗျာ။ The summit of the highest celestial region in a cakkavâla system is here referred to. ဘုံ means a division of the cakkavâla system, as လူ့ဘုံ။ နတ်ဘုံ။ မြို့ဘုံ။

ဘဝင် (Pāli ဘဝဂ္ဂ) means the highest point or the summit of a celestial region in a world system. ဗျား for အဗျား also means summit.

ဘုန်းတော် here means the glory of Buddha. အား here means force.

ပျံ့ရှားကြိုင်သင်း means to diffuse fragrance or to give out a pleasant odour. ပျံ့ means to diffuse or spread. ရှား means to give way. ကြိုင် and သင်း both mean "to omit a pleasant odour." But ကြိုင် is stronger than သင်း။

ဗဟိုမဇ္ဈေ။ ဝိတိဇ္ဈေ။ ရွှေဗလ်ရဝိန္ဒ။ လယ်လမ်းနှိုင်းလျက်။ This passage simply means "the sun is moving by the middle path."

ဗဟို means centre or middle.

မဇ္ဈေ (Pāli) also means middle.

ဝိတိ (Pāli) means path or course.

ဇ္ဈေ here means to move.

ရွှေဗလ်ရဝိန္ဒ refers to the Sun, and is so called because it is said to be gold within and crystal without. ရဝိန္ဒ is from the Pāli ရဝိ which means the sun. (cf. သုရိန္ဒ which is from the Pāli သုရိယ and which also means the sun.)

လယ်လမ်း for အလယ်လမ်း means the middle path. နှိုင်း which originally means "to suppress" or "to subdue" is here used in the sense of "to pursue" or "to take."

ဗဟိုမဇ္ဈေ။ ဝိတိဇ္ဈေ and လယ်လမ်းနှိုင်း are analogous in meaning, and so the poet may be charged with tautology here.

နာဂိန္ဒရာ။ ဗျင်းတာရာနှင့်။ အားသွန်မလို။ တန်ခိုးသိမ့်။ This means "the constellations known as the elephant, the egret, the crab and the crow retain their brightness as if they think to exhibit their utmost strength in the *Thingyan* month—the prelude to the rainy season."

နာဂိန္ဒရာ (Pāli) is made up of နာဂ (elephant), ဣန္ဒ (chief) and ရာ (for ရာဇာ also chief or king); and it means "the chief of the elephants." Here it is used as the name of a constellation having the shape of an elephant and consisting of nine stars.

ဗျင်းတာရာ which is also a constellation is so called because the eight stars of which it consists look like an egret.

ဝသန် (Pāli ဝသန္တ) means "the rainy season." ချိန်ဝသန် has the same meaning.

အားသွန်မလို means "as if about to pour out their strength." အား means "strength" and သွန် means "to pour out like water." မလို here means "as if."

တန်ခိုးသိမ့် means "to retain or conceal power."

တိမ်ညိုမိလ္လာ။ ဂုဏ်ချင်းဆိုင်။ This passage gives a full description of the aspects of the skies on four sides of Mount *Yugandhara* especially as regards the variation in shape and colour of the clouds.

တိမ်ညိုမိလ္လာ means the dark brown cloud or the cloud of the niello colour.

တိမ်စုကာ means the cloud having the colour of the passion flower, that is reddish blue.

မရန်း means a light red colour resembling that of the seed of a *marian* fruit.

တိမ်သက်တုံရောင် means the rainbow-coloured cloud.

အဝါပေါင်ဝယ်။ မှောင်ခဲ့တခါ။ ပြာခဲ့တခါ။ ညိုခဲ့တလီ။ ရိခဲ့တပုံ။ မှိုခဲ့တချက်။ This means "Amid the yellow tint some clouds become dark. Some are blue at one time, and some assume a brown colour at another time. Now they turn darkish and then get blurred."

ရိခဲ့တပုံ means to become darkish at one time.

မှိုခဲ့တချက် means to be blurred at another time.

ယုဂန္ဓ in ယုဂန္ဓထက်တ is from the Pāli ယုဂန္ဓရ (*Yugandhara*) and is the name of one of the seven vast concentric circles of rock or mountain which surround Mount Meru. This mountain round which the sun and the moon move is the nearest to Meru, and then come *Isadhara*, *Karavika*, *Sudassana*, *Nemindhara*, *Vinataka* and *Assakamma*. Each is divided from the next by a great river or sea which bears its name.

တိဂ္ဂဉ္ဇန္တ means the cloud in the shape or figure of a *Garula* bird.

နဂါးရံ means a group of *Nagas* or dragons entwined about one another in an upright position. *Garula* birds being the hereditary foes of the *Nagas* frequently prey upon and destroy them. နဂါး is an archaic word which means "many or numerous." The passage တိဂ္ဂဉ္ဇန္တလည်း။ ဂုဏ်ချင်းဆိုင်း။ therefore means "Some smoke-like clouds represent a picture of a group of several *Nagas* entangled with one another in an upright position being confronted by their foe the *Garula* bird."

မဇ္ဈိမလူ။ ပြဿတွင်ရာ။ ဝိသာခါနှင့်။ စကားဝါထုံ။ ရနံ့လှံသည်။ This refers to the sign *Pyeiktha* (*Taurus*) and its corresponding month *Kasôn* (*May*) in which the moon usually appears conjointly with the *Nakshatra Visâkhâ* at midnight of the full moon day. The usual period for the *Sagawa* tree (*Michelia Champaca*) to flower is also the month of *Kasôn*.

မဇ္ဈိမ in မဇ္ဈိမလူ is from the Pāli မဇ္ဈလ and means a circle. It also signifies the central point or pivot. But here it refers to the zodiacal circle. မူလ means origin or first. Here it alludes to *Pyeiktha* (*Taurus*) although *Meiktha* (*Aries*) is the first sign of the zodiac. The reason is that in computing the calendar, the former sign and its corresponding month *Kasôn* are always taken first.

ဝိသာခါ is the name of one of the 27 *Nakshatras* and it consists of 14 stars.

စကားဝါထုံ။ ရနံ့လှံသည် means the *Sagawa* flower gives out its fragrance. ထုံ means to perfume, and ရနံ့ means fragrance. လှံ is here used in the sense of လှိုင် which means to diffuse odour.

The following table shows the *Nakkhat* or *Nakshatra* which usually appears side by side with the moon at midnight on each full-moon day and the principal flower which blooms in each of the corresponding months of the zodiac:—

Month and sign.	Attendant Nakkhat.	Principal flower or flowers.
1. Tagu (<i>Meiktha</i>)	.. Citra	.. <i>Yingat</i> or <i>gardenia obtusifolia</i> or <i>gardenia coronaria</i> ; and <i>Gangaw</i> or <i>mesua ferrea</i> .
2. Kasôn (<i>Pyeiktha</i>)	.. Visâkhâ	.. <i>Sagawa</i> or <i>michelia champaca</i> .
3. Nayôn (<i>Medôn</i>)	.. Jettha	.. <i>Jasmine</i> and <i>Myatle</i> or <i>Jasminum grandiflorum</i> .

4. Wazo (Karakat) ..Uttarasan or
pyuppasan ..*Pônnyet* or *calophyllum ino-*
phyllum.
5. Wagaung (Thein) ..Dhanasiddha or
Sarawun ..*Kawè* or *Angula Luffa*.
6. Tawthalin (Kan) ..Pyuppabadrappaik *Yinma* or *Chukrasia Tabularis*
or *Chukrasia Velutina*.
7. Thadingyut (Tu) ..Revatî or
Asavani ..Lotus or water lily (*Nym-*
phaeaceae).
8. Tazaungmôn (Byeiksa) ..Kyattikâ ..*Kawè* or *Angula Luffa*.
9. Nadaw (Dhanu) ..Migasi ..*Gamôn-in* or a species of
Kempferia, and *Thazin* or
Xanthophyllum Flavescens.
10. Pyatho (Makâra) ..Punaphusshu or
Phussha ..*Kwânnyo* or *Clematis Smilaci-*
folia or *Naravelia Zeylanica*.
11. Tabodwè (Kôn) ..Assalissa or
Mâgha ..*Pauk* or *Butea Frondosa*.
12. Tabaung (Mein) ..Uttaraparagunnî. *Ingyin* or *Aporosa Macro-*
phylla or *Pentacme Suav-*
is, and *Tharapi* or *Calophyl-*
lum Kunstleri or *Calophyl-*
lum Spectabile.

It must be remembered that the world began on the full-moon day of Tabaung. Then the full-orbed moon appeared side by side with the Nakshatra Uttaraparagunnî. On that day the sun also made its first appearance. That is to say while the sun appeared in the sign Mein the full moon appeared in the opposite sign Kan. By referring to the arrangement and the distribution of the 27 nakkhats in the zodiac according to the ecliptic it will be seen that the Nakshatra Uttaraparagunnî appears in the sign Kan. So, it is the case with every full moon to have one, or in some cases two attendant *nakkhats* of the sign opposite to that in which she is appearing.

မေထုန်လက်ဖျား။ စမ္ပယ်နားလက် simply means the jasmine blooms in Medôn or Nayôn.

ပျံ့ရှားအေးလှိုင်။ ပုန်းညက်ခိုင်လည်း။ နံ့ကြိုင်ကြိုင်။ ထုံရည်ဆွတ်၍။ The literal meaning of this is that the sign Karakat (Cancer) is sprinkled with perfumed water from bunches of the cool odour-diffusing *pônnyet* (*Calophyllum inophyllum*). That is, the *pônnyet* tree bears flowers in Karakat or Wazo.

The expression ပျံ့ရှားအေးလှိုင် may be compared to ပျံ့ရှားကြိုင်သင်း noticed above လှိုင်ကြိုင်ထုံသင်း and ဆွေ all mean "to give out fragrance or to diffuse a pleasant odour."

နက္ခတ်အာသင်္ဂ္ဂ။ တပေါ်ကျန်ဝယ်။ The allusion is to the full moon of Wazo on which day the moon appears together with the Nakshatra Asanhli and to the setting in of the rains which begin from the first waning of Wazo. အာသင်္ဂ္ဂ from အာသင်္ဂ္ဂီ is the name given to the Nakshatras Pyuppasan and Uttarasan together. In Wazo one of these Nakshatras is seen side by side with the

full moon at midnight on its attaining the third *pat* of its course. တပ်တပ် means "short of one *pat*," that is to say, the third *pat* as each Nakshatra has four *pats*.

လခွရာမွန်။.....မြွေကြပွန်။ Here the various sounds accompanying the rain are said to be caused by the beating of the celestial drums and the blowing of Indra's trumpet which give expression to the rain-god's merry disposition.

လဗ္ဗရာမွန်။ ဗုဒ္ဓင်ကျာကျာ။ The အာလ ဗ္ဗရ (Ālambara) or the crab-drum is referred to here. မွန် simply means "good or excellent." ဗုဒ္ဓင်ကျာကျာ။ means "the loud sound of the crab-drum."

မဟာဝိဇယ is the name of Indra's or Sakra's conch or trumpet. မဟာ (Pāli) means "great." ပွန် from the Pāli ပုဉ္ဇ is another name for the rain-god.

ထောင်အားသိုသည်။.....ရွာကြီးခေါက်။ The reference here is to the downpour of incessant rains from the cloud-bound regions accompanied by the loud peals of thunder as if a great battle is raging.

ထောင်အားသိုသည်။ This refers to the intensity of the sun's rays being overpowered by rain clouds. The sun is often described as possessing a thousand rays. ထောင် means a thousand and it stands for a thousand rays of the sun. အား means "strength or power" and သို means "to fail." ထောင်အားသိုသည် therefore means "the thousand rays of the sun fail in their strength or intensity." Only in one text we find တောင်မေရ်ကို instead of ထောင်အားသိုသည်. By this expression it appears that it is intended to convey the idea that Mount Meru is being overwhelmed with rain-clouds. This is a sorry idea as Mount Meru cannot be seen even when the sky is clear.

လွှမ်းခြုံသင်တိုင်း။ တိမ်အလှိုင်းဖြင့် means "cloaked with waves of rain clouds." အလှိုင်း here means "waves."

တိုင်းအမွန်ဆို means "in the region of rain clouds." တိုင်း means a country or a region. အမွန် from the Pāli အမ္ဘြန္တရ means rain-cloud.

မိုးဗေဗီ means "rain or storm." မိုး and ဗေဗီ are one and the same thing, the word မိုး being derived from the Pāli မေဃ. The last syllable ဃ is changed into ဗီ for rhythmical purpose.

ဘောဒနီကျင်း means breaking into sound. ဘောဒနီ or ဘောဒနံ is a Pāli word and it means "breaking." ကျင်း means "to celebrate." Some texts have ဘောဟိရိက်ကျင်း which means "beat of drum."

ဗျူဟာခင်း၍ means "in the order for battle or in battle-array." ဗျူဟာ is a Pāli word for battle-array.

ဝလာ in နတ်ဘင်းဝလာ stands for the Pāli ဝလာဟက meaning "rain-god."

အေရာ stands for အေရာဇာ which means chief of the nats. နတ်မင်းဝလာ။ အေရာ simply means "the rain-god."

ရွာကြီးခေါက် means "raining hard without interruption." ရွာ means "to rain incessantly." ကြီး means "in excess." ခေါက် from ခေါက်ရက် (Archaic) means "without mercy or compassion."

ရေရူးမောက်၍။.....ရေနန်းစုံ။ This refers to the overflow of rivers and the formation of streams, pools and lakes owing to the incessant downpour. Shoals of fishes etc. including the crabs at their holes are presented as delightfully doing honour to the Lord of the three classes of mankind.

ရေရူးမောက်၍ means "the wild water overflows."

ထုံးပေါက်အင်းဆို၍ refers to the formation of pools and lakes, large and small. ထုံး is a pool or a small pond. ပေါက် means "to spring up." အင်း and ဆိုင် have the same meaning, namely, "lake."

ဝန်စိန်စိမ်း means "forests, marshes, streams and springs."

တင်းကျင်းသိုသို means "filling swiftly." တင်းကျင်း means "full or complete." It is most commonly used in an adverbial sense. သိုသို means "swiftly, rapidly or violently."

ယမုဂ်ဂါ။ Literally it means the rivers Jumna and Ganges. Here rivers in general are meant.

ရေညီလာနင်း၊ သီဒါသဘင် This means "a levee or a fête in the water or the river." ညီလာ for ညီလာခံ means "to hold a levee or a council." သီဒါ or သီတာ is a collective name for the seven great rivers encompassing Mount Meru. Each divides the seven concentric circles of rock from one another. Here it simply means an ordinary river, and သဘင် means a fête.

မောရ် in မောရ်လိပ်ငါး is derived from the Pāli မောရ which is the name of a species of the large fish having a head resembling that of a deer.

ရွှေမျှားတသင်း means "a group or an assembly of associates or friends."

တွင်းရွှေဂူဟာ။ လိုက်နန်းသာကာ။ ကတ္တုဥဒ္ဓမ္မန်း။ ရွှေဥဒ္ဓန်လည်း။ This refers to the crabs at the mouths of their holes.

တွင်း means a hole. ဂူဟာ is a pure Pāli word which means a cave. လိုက် is derived from the Pāli လေတ meaning a hiding place. နန်း means a palace.

အားသွန်ညွတ်ခ။ This expression is made up of အား-သွန်-ညွတ် and ခ။ The word အား which originally means strength, force, might or power, is here used for mental force or power that is "strong feeling." သွန် means "to pour out." ညွတ် means "to bow down or to be inclined in mind." ခ means "to touch, to pay respect or to wait upon." The whole expression therefore means "To bow down with a strong feeling of respect."

သုံးလူ့ဘ means "The Lord of the three classes of mankind, namely, men, nats and Brahmas." (Cf. သုံးလူ့ဆွေ in the first verse.)

ဖူးကြသောဟန် means "as if beholding with reverence."

ဝသန်ကာလ။ မြေခတ်သွား။ This refers to the beginning of the rainy season when the hill men plough their lands for the cultivation of different kinds of cereals, and when the ripe toddy-palm fruits fall to the ground. ဝသန်ကာလ may be compared with ချိန်ဝသန် referred to above.

ထွန်ချမင်္ဂလာ။ simply means "ploughing." မင်္ဂလာ means "propitious." (Cf. လယ်ထွန်မင်္ဂလာ the ceremony of ploughing by a king.)

မြေခတ်သွား။ This means "the palmyra fruits get detached from their petioles and fall to the ground." မြေခတ် means "to touch the ground." ထွန်သွား means "the petiole of a palmyra fruit."

The concluding passage beginning from သည်ချိန်ခါဝယ် refers to the different kinds of *Yakkhas* (ယက္ခ) in their happy act of devotion to the most Venerable One.

အာဠာနာဒ is the name given to the class of ogres of a higher order.

ကုဗေရ is a name of Vessavaṇa (ဝေဿဝဏ) the Regent of the North. The other three Regents are Dhattarattha (တ္ထရာတ္ထ) the Regent of the East; Virūlhaka (ဝိရူလ္လက) the Regent of the South; and Virūpakka (ဝိရူပက္ခ) the Regent of the West. They all inhabit the Catumahārājika heaven.

ယက္ခတွင်တိ။ Yakkhas are a class of superhuman beings of whom some are attendants on Vessavaṇa who is therefore also known by the name of Yakkhādhīpa, lord of Yakkhas. Another name for Vessavaṇa is Nara-vāhana (နရဝါဟန).

မဟိန္ဒိဘာနော means a powerful ogre. မဟိန္ဒိ is a Pāli compound of မဟာ and ခန္တိ and it means "great power." ဘာနော for ဘာနဝ is the name of a class of ogres.

ကုမ္ဘော from ကုမ္ဘဏ္ဍော are a class of superhuman beings or ogres who are the attendants of Virūlhaka, the Regent of the South, while နန္ဒဗ္ဗိ are the special attendants of Dhātaraṭṭha, the Regent of the East. These two Regents are therefore also known respectively as ကုမ္ဘဏ္ဍဝါသိ (Chief of the Kumbhāṇḍas) and နန္ဒဗ္ဗဝိဝ (lord of Gandhabbas).

ဒေဝယက္ခာ means celestial Yakkhas.

သာတာဝိရိ is the name of a chief of certain Yakkhas of the Himalayas.

နတ်ဘိလူး means the ogres of the celestial kind.

သုံးဦးပရမေ means the most Venerable Lord of the three classes of mankind.

ဂုဏ်မြီတေ is made up of ဂုဏ် and အမြီတေ။ The former is derived from the Pāli ဂုဏ meaning virtue or excellence. The latter အမြီတေ means pith or essence. (Cf. ကြာ၏မျိုးစေ့၊ ပြကတေ့၊ ရွှေအမြီတေ။ ။ U Pōnnya's Satdan Sinmin Vatthu).

ဖူးလေတုံမြောက် is composed of ဖူး-လေ-တုံ and မြောက်။ The word ဖူး means "to look up to reverentially or to worship." လေ and တုံ are mere euphonic affixes. မြောက် means "to accomplish."

လက်ပန်းပေါက်ဖြင့် means causing a noise by clapping one arm with the palm of the other arm by placing the two arms across the chest. ဖူးလေတုံမြောက်၊ လက်ပန်းပေါက်ဖြင့် therefore means the act of worshipping is accomplished by such an act.

စေတနာ (Pāli) means "good will, cordiality or benevolence."

သဒ္ဓါ (Pāli) means "faith."

ကြည်ညွတ် is the same as ကြည်ညို and means "to feel complaisance" and နူး means "to be well disposed towards."

Po BYU.

II

၂။ ။စကြဝဠာ။ အာဏာဇာတိ။ ခေတ်ဝိသယ။ နှိုင်းမမျှသာ။ အနန္တဂုဏ်။ သဗ္ဗညု၏။ ဘုံတဝင်
ဖျာ။ ဘုန်းတော် အားလည်း။ ပျံ့ရှား ကြိုင်သင်း။ ထိန်ထိန်လင်းလျက်။ ထုတ်ခြင်းခတ်လျှို။ တန်ခိုးမိုသော်။ မ
ဟိုလ် မစွေ။ ဝိထိချွေ၍။ ရှေ့ဖလ် ရပ်နံ။ လယ်လမ်း နှိပ်လျက်။ နာဂိန္ဒရာ။ မျိုင်းတာရာနှင့်။ မဟာကက္ကလူ။ ရွှေ
ကာကတို့။ သည်လသင်းကြန့်ချိန်ဝသန်ကို။ အားသွန်မလို။ တန်ခိုးသိုခွဲ။ တိမ်ညိုမိလ္လာ။ တိမ်စူကာနှင့်။ တိမ်
ပြာရောရှက်။ မရန်းဘက်၍။ တိမ်သက်တန်ရောင်။ အဝါပေါင်ဝယ်။ မှောင်ခွဲ တခါ။ ပြာခွဲ တချို့။ ညိုခွဲ တလီ။
ရီခွဲ တပုံ။ မှုံခွဲတချက်။ ယုဂန် ထက်က။ လေးဘက်လုံးခြုံ။ တိမ်ဂဠုန်လည်း။ နဂါးရုံကြွေ။ ရန်ခြင်းတွေသော်။
ခိုးငွေ့ ယွတ်ပြိုင်။ ဂုဏ်ချင်း ဆိုင်ခွဲ။ မလှိုင်ငုံလ။ ပြဿတွင်ရာ။ ဝိသာခါနှင့်။ စကားဝါထုံ။ ရန်လုံသည်။ မေ
ထုန်လက်ဖျာ။ စမ္မာယ် နားလျက်။ ပျံ့ရှား ဇလိုင်။ ပုန်းညက်ခိုင်လည်း။ နံ့ကြိုင်ကြန့်။ ထုံရည် ဆွတ်၍။ နက္ခတ်
အာသဠ။ တပေါ် ကျန်ဝယ်။ လဗ္ဗရာ မုနံ။ ဗုဒ္ဓန် ကျာကျာ။ ဒိန္နိမာနှင့်။ မဟာဝိဇယ။ သံစုံခွေ။ မြူးကြွေပျွန်။
ထောင်အားသုံးသည်။ လွှမ်းခြုံသင်တိုင်။ တိမ်အလှိုင် ဖြင့်။ တိုင်းအမွန်ဆီ။ မိုးမေယီလျှင်။ ဘောဓနီကျင်။ ဗျူ
ဟာခင်း၍။ နတ်မင်းဝလာ။ ဒေဝရာမူ။ စွေရှာကြူးခေါ်။ ရေရှူးမောက်၍။ ထုံးပေါက်အင်းအိုင်။ ဂနိဝိဇ္ဇာစစ်။
တင်းကျမ်း သံသုံ။ စီးသွယ်ခြုံသည်။ ယမုဂ်ဂါ။ ရေညီလာနှင့်။ သီဒါသဘင်။ ရှုအင်မခန်း။ အဆန်းဆန်းလျှင်။
မကန်းလိပ်ငါး။ ရှင်မြူးစားလျက်။ ပျော်ပီးစံပ။ ရွှေများတသင်း။ တွင်းရွှေဂဟာ။ လိုက်နန်းသာကာ။ ကက္ကဠာ

မူနံ၊ ရွှေဗုဒ္ဓံ လည်း။ အားသွန် ညွတ်ခ၊ သုံးလဘကို၊ ဖူးကြ သောဟန်၊ ရေနန်း စံခဲ့။ ဝသန် ကာလ၊ ရာသီစ
ဝယ်။ ထွန်ချမင်္ဂလာ။ တောင်သူမှာသည်။ ဘာသာလေ့။ ပျော်မွေ့စိုက်ပျိုး။ ကောက်ပဲမျိုးကို။ အားကြီးလို့
လ။ ဂုဏ်စွမ်း ပြလျက်။ မြေခ ထန်းညှာ။ သည်ချိန် ခါဝယ်။ အာဇာနည်။ ကုဝေရနှင့်။ ယက္ခတွင်ဘိ။ မဟိဒ္ဓိ
တာနော။ ကုမ္မော ဂန္ဓဗ္ဗ။ ဒေဝ ယက္ခ။ သာတာ ဂိရိ။ မည်ရှိ စိုးမှု။ နတ်ဘီလူးတို့။ သုံးဦး ပရမေ။ ဂုဏ်မြဲတေ
ကို။ ဖူးလေ တုံမြောက်။ လက်ပမ်းပေါက်ဖြင့်။ ဝမ်းမြောက် ဝမ်းသာ။ စေတနာနှင့်။ သဒ္ဓါ ရှင်မြို့။ ကြည်
ညွတ်နူးသည်။ ။ဘီလူးသွားကိုလ ဖြတ်သည်။

In the three-fold region of Time and Place, the all-wise Sage stands without a peer. His endless glory reaches even the ringing rafters of the firmament. The blaze of majesty flashes free and cleaves clean the boundless space. The raying sun traces its path along the middle way. In this season of *Thingyan* showers, there is a rapture in the skies. Behold, the elephant, the egret, the crab and the crow conserve their lustrous rays against the day for shining in brightest sheen. Scattered flocks of cloudland close and stand on Yugan's brow in motley-coloured livery. The rainbow of the changeful clouds is tinted with sable and azure and purple and yellow and varied kindred hues. Pile upon pile of drifting columns vault in their tricksome courses and clash together as the roc and the dragon met in a fierce contest. In *Kasôn*, *Withakha* appears and sheds its lucent beams. The fresh flame of the young new year quickens the scented *sagawa* from leaf to flower. The *Nayôn* sun strikes the sweet jasmine branch into bloom. The *pônmyet* bursts in flower and loads *Wazo* airs with a grateful odour. A gay-hearted noise announces the advent of the rains: In the bosom of Jove joy is lord. Celestial drums send forth a mighty roll and the fairy conch swells the pealing note. The lustre of the lusty sun is quenched in wreaths of cloud and the jocund sound rings thro the azured vault like the thundrous rattle of arms. The god of the sky sends sheets of swift rain. Pools and lakes and woods, marshes and streams and springs brim over and form countless rivulets. Rivers and streams look ravishing in a thousand charms. In bold joyance, schools of *magans*, crowds of turtles, shoals of fishes hold high festival and join the crabs that crouch at the mouths of their cozy holes in adoration before the man of men. With the fall of rain the gleesome hillman drives full hard his wonted harrow and sows his seed. When the palmyra casts its fleshy fruit, *Aṭānāda*, *Kuvera*, *Thâtâgîri* and other fairy ogres duly bow before the Overman and clap their arms and show their snowy teeth with a liberal laugh.

B. H.

NOTES AND REVIEWS.

12 YEAR CYCLE OF BURMESE YEAR NAME.

Following up very closely the two articles which appeared in the issues of this Journal Volumes I and VI, under the designations of Burmese Calendar and Cycle of Burmese Year Name, I have looked up several works in my possession and those that I have access to, elsewhere, on Burmese Astrology and Astronomy. From the references of which I have not been successful in my endeavours in obtaining any of the results as set down by the Authors of the above-mentioned two articles. But with due deference to both I beg to submit the results of my labours for what they are worth and leave them at their disposal for further criticism, analytical research and improvement; and I write this thinking that it will serve to a small extent as nucleus for such purposes for those who may so desire to take up the subject, but should it turn out to be otherwise than what I intended, I doubt not that at least my good-will will be taken for the deed.

In my previous article on Burmese Astronomy, I have shewn in this Journal Volume IV, Part III, pp. 184, 185 and 187 the asteristic positions in the signs of the Zodiac and how the technical names of Burmese months are derived at Full Moon from the 27 nakkhats (Lunar asterisms) when coinciding with certain pads in the Ecliptic. And I add now that the names of these nakkhats are divided by the names of the months into groups; each month bearing the name of a nakkhat from its corresponding group (? excepting the first name) supposed to be the dominant of the group.

Excerpting therefore from those pages what are necessary for the present purpose and adding other informations that may help the point at issue to be more elucidative, I reproduce them here for ready reference and convenience for the lay reader.

Reverting to the subject in question I make out that the calculation is based on the number of Solar years of the Sun's revolutions to those of the equivalent of the planet Jupiter, which is an indication of the latter's position annually at the commencement, heliacally among the nakkhats, in his course over the 12 signs of the Zodiac.

As per my Burmese Astronomy, p. 33, Part I Volume IV of this Journal: In a Mahayuga, 4320000 revolutions of Sun or 4320000 *solar years* are equal to 364220 revolutions of Jupiter, or expressed in solar years, will be 364220×12 years or 4370640 *years*.

(Ibid. Part III, p. 180 Jupiter takes 12 months to move from a sign into another or 12 years over the 12 signs of the Zodiac or a revolution.)

These two figures respectively reduced by the greatest common multiple of 1152 will give:—

3750 years for the Sun
and 3794 years for Jupiter,

giving 44 years in excess for the latter over the former or making $1\frac{44}{3750}$ for Jupiter over that of the Solar year.

Leaving the few preliminaries aside for a while, I insert here the rule for finding out the name of the year according to a work named "JOTITATHA." *

"Convert the (Burmese) Era to that of the Saka years as per rule of BHASUTI-LET-YO" * (i. e. by adding 560 years to B. E; 3739—3179 being Kali-yuga years at which Burmese and Saka eras respectively began their epoch, see p. 25 of my B. A. Vol. IV, Part I, of this Journal). "Multiply the Saka years by 22, add 4292 to the product and divide the sum by 1875. To which quotient, add the Saka years and divide the sum by 60...."

Rejecting the quotient, divide the remainder by 12 and the remainder of this counted from the technically named month Saravan indicates the name of the year under calculation (which is a 12-year-cycle of Jupiter).

Now it is quite evident that the Jotitatha process of calculation is the very identical one which I have above expounded about the equivalent of the Solar revolutions to those of Jupiter in Solar years, except that 4292 is added for a constant which is for an adjustment brought over since the beginning of the epoch and $\frac{44}{8750}$ as numerator and denominator are reduced (by 2) to $\frac{22}{4375}$.

The division by 60 is to find out the 60-year-cycle of Jupiter; and the 12-year-cycle is, for the minor cycle on the preceding one.

The remainder is counted from Saravan because the 60-year-cycle commences from the group containing this or the other lunar asterism (Dhana-siddha).

There is another called the 5-year-cycle but that has no bearing whatever in connection with this subject.

Having the above work "JOTITATHA" as an authority for a sane process of calculation of the year name, I cannot reconcile myself to think that there can be a perpetual and an invariable formula (kein-the ကိန်းသေ) apparently with no explanation for its procedure such as the one given in Volume I of this Journal, viz:—

"Subtract two from the last figure in the date according to the Burmese Era, divide the last two figures thus obtained by 12 and the remainder is the number of the year in the above table."

I have seen this sort of similar bare statements in a printed work called "MAHA-THINGYAN-NARI-TWET-YO-KYAN" (မဟာသင်္ကြန်နာရီတွက်ရိုးကျမ်း) and also in another in palm-leaves called "THINGYAN-TWET-PON" (သင်္ကြန်တွက်ပုံ). I have a work in manuscript called "MAHA-THINGYAN-TWET-KEIN" (မဟာသင်္ကြန်တွက်ကိန်း) which directs the Burmese Era to be decreased by two and the remainder to be divided by 12, the remainder resulting therefrom to be counted from Jeyya (as per attached table) for the name of the ATA-TET or new year under calculation.

I must also say that all the technical year-names given in Thingyansas (annual astrological predictions made at the entry of Sun into the sign

* Both of these are to be seen in the Bernard Free Library, Rangoon, in palm leaf manuscripts in Burmese.

MISHA (Aries) issued annually), of the past few years which I have taken notice of, probably in more, have been made in conformity with the rule of the above mentioned Burmese works except "JOTITATHA."

As will be seen from the appended Table prepared by me tentatively and conjointly in accordance with the rule of "JOTITATHA" the name of every 86th year is an expunged one; consequently the formula by deduction varies in quantity after every 85th year.

Are there not all the possibilities of that rule being applicable only to the years 1032|1116 B. E., as these are the only recent ones whose results by such a method tally with the results as obtained by "JOTITATHA"?

Or is there not all the likelihood when the Authors of the Burmese Thingyan Kyans compiled and set in vogue, for a period of 85 years only for the years between 1032|1116 B. E., to suit the convenience of the Kokaung Bedinsayas (astronomical or astrological calculators by nine times, who are as a rule very backward in calculation) simplified the process of calculation for the year names by the deduction of two and the remainder therefrom by the division of twelve, inasmuch as the identical remainders are obtained for the purposes of astrological predictions? And left the quantity for deduction for the next 85 years and or more to be done or rectified by subsequent authors?

If these are answered in the affirmative, then what about for years before these where the year-names given on inscriptions do not fall in with results obtained, as calculated according to the rule of "JOTITATHA"?

Another thing which complicates matter is that from the results of my labours in the field of research work in Burmese Astrology and Astronomy, I know that CAKRA-DEVI (စကြာဒေဝီ) sister to King Mindon Min and latterly who became his Chief Queen, during her father's reign (Shwebo Min 1199|1208 B. E.) and after, revised and rectified all the irregularities that came within her knowledge and as she was such an adept and devotee in these branches of the Science, the question is, could it be that this year-name calculation which I make it to appear wrong in Burmese works, has slipped her attention, undetected? I doubt very much.

With these points of possibilities, likelihood and doubts it will be seen that it is not at all possible for one to arrive at a decision as to which of the rules are correct and so for want of better and more reliable informations, it must still rest where it was with no further enlightenment on the subject.

If this is taken up officially I don't think this should be the case because there are still many old professionals and amateurs in Upper Burma who I think can supply us with all the informations, perhaps traditionally preserved, if not, in writing, and as Mr. Blagden says it will serve for the purposes of epigraphy, archæology and history, the sooner the necessary informations are collected, the better for his object in view.

As the results of Burmese Astronomical calculations are always auxilarily designed for predictive purposes, and for the benefit of those interested in astrological observations, as well as to enable them to test which of the two systems above mentioned, is nearer the mark of accuracy from a practical

astrological point of view, and to serve as an illustration of the Rules enunciated, the predictions relative to the current year 1278 B. E., are abstracted from the "MAHA THINGYAN-TWET-YO-KYAN"; the insertion of which, as may not be congenial to the tastes of those who may deem it forbidding, I would crave for their forbearance for what may appear in my article ludicrous:—

1. According to Burmese system: $(B. E. 1278-2) \div 12 = \text{Remainder is } 4$ which counted from JEYYA is an *ASANLI* year.
2. According to "JOTITATHA": (a) $\{ (1278+560) \times 22 + 4292 \} \div 1875 = \text{Quotient call } Q.$
 (b) $(Q+1278+560) \div 60 = \text{Remainder call } R.$
 (c) $R \div 12 = \text{Remainder is } 1$ which counted from SARAVAN (as lapsed) is a *BAHDRA* year (current).
 Or tentatively $1278 \div 12 = \text{Remainder is } 6$ which counted from JEYYA is *BHADRA*.

PREDICTIONS FOR ASANLI YEAR:

The year is (symbolically) under the protection of the sea monster called MAKAN (Makara; the forepart is fabulously described as that of a quadruped and the latter part, that of a crocodile).

The month is under the guardian of Fish.

The Gongban-bilu (Ogre) guards the day.

The Earth is guarded by the Dakkhrite-bilu (another class of Ogre); the Heavens by the Vassavara-nat (spirit); Water by Dragon-snake and the Sky by Labine (a fabulous fish of monstrous size, said to devour human beings). The Jungles or Woodlands are taken care of by the Hare.

The Chief among human beings are the learned (who are most conspicuous in taking a leading part in mundane affairs of the year under review). The most prominent among quadrupeds are the amphibious animals called Makans (crocodiles); among birds, the ducks; among trees, the black thorn-plant; among bamboo, the flexible bamboo (used for making baskets and boxes) and among grass, the grass called (in vernacular) arrow grass.

The 6th constellation (Adra) has disappeared and the 7th (Punṇaphusha) is visible.

The soil of the earth is void of fertility. There are abundant rains in the beginning and middle of the rainy season and the winding up of the rains is deficient. Continuous rains throughout the three stages of the rainy season and it rains 60 times.

The year is not good for jungle-villages and hills but good for valleys and low places.

Grains, Beans and cereals suffer from superfluous overgrowth of their leaves &c.

Fruits, roots and herbs do not thrive.

Floods and sufferings through the last stage of the rains taking place out of season.

Signs of rains in Kason (May|June).

Rains in Nayon (June|July):

The Flowers do not give good scent.

In Kason (May|June) Thadingyut (October|November) Tasaungmon (November|December) and Pyatho (January|February) there will be much robberies and mishaps. Success for the King; return of those who have gone to distant land; much sickness and disease among human beings, hunger and thirst. Much dissension and unpopularity for the maidens with their beloved elders. There will be not much celebrations of festivals and alms-giving.

Those born in that year will be learned, owner of much property, recognised officially, popular and become famous; contentious, great, refined in manners, supporters of many dependents; much gifts will be showered on them and live to 80 years of age.

PREDICTIONS FOR BHADRA YEAR:

The year is guarded by the Horse; the month by the Cock; the Day by the Rat; the Earth by the Vassavaranat-bilu (spirit Ogre); the Heavens by the Kongban-bilu; Water by the Carp-fish; the Sky by the Ass and the woodlands by the Cat.

The chief among human beings are Kings (i. e. are conspicuous in mundane affairs); among quadrupeds, Horses; among Birds, the black Cuckoo; among Trees, the (thin) Maranta dichotama plant from which mats are made; among the Bamboo, the creeping bamboo; among grass, the sail-leaf screwpine.

The 8th Constellation (Pusha) has disappeared and the 9th (Aslesha) is visible.

The soil of the earth is extremely fertile.

In the beginning and middle of the rainy season there are not much rains but in the winding up, there are abundant rains. Continuous rains throughout the 3 stages of the season and rains for 60 times.

The Rivers are flooded.

The year is auspicious for jungle villages and hills but not for valleys and lowlands.

Good crop of grains and cereals; likewise for paddy, fruits etc.

Human beings are inflicted with much sickness. Rash, itches, pox and measles are prevalent.

There is plenty in the land and much pests by insects.

Ministers of the Kings will have to march to War; distress in the land and much ravishes in the north.

Much happiness to maidens and the enjoyment or satisfaction of conjugal bliss.

The King will be free of danger.

There are signs of rains in Taboung (March|April) and begins to rain in Tagu (April|May).

Occurrences of strong wind and hurricanes.

There will be abundance of quadrupeds but elephants and ponies will suffer.

Those born in that year will be popular, observant, clever, refined and sweet-tongued, bear a good reputation and live to 80 years of age.

Names of the signs of the Zodiac (Rasis).	Lunar Asterisms.			Space in Ecliptic in	
	Nos.	Nakkhats.	Pads.	Degrees.	Ms.
Misha (Aries)	1	Ashvini ..	4	13	20
	2	Bharani ..	4	26	40
	3	Krittika ..	1	30	..
Prisha (Taurus)	4	" ..	3	40	..
	5	Rohini ..	4	53	20
Medum (Gemini)	6	Migasi ..	2	60	..
	7	" ..	2	66	40
	8	Adra ..	4	80	..
Karakat (Cancer)	9	{ Punna ..	3	90	..
	10	{ Phusha ..	1	93	20
	11	" ..	4	106	40
Sinh (Leo)	12	Aslesha ..	4	120	..
	13	" ..	4	133	20
	14	Puppha Phalgunni ..	4	146	40
Kan (Virgo)	15	Uttra ..	1	150	..
	16	" ..	3	160	..
	17	Hashta ..	4	173	20
Tu (Libra)	18	Citra ..	2	180	..
	19	" ..	2	186	40
	20	Svati ..	4	200	..
Briccha (Scorpio)	21	Visakha ..	3	210	..
	22	" ..	1	213	20
	23	Anuradha ..	4	226	40
Dhanu (Sagittary)	24	Jettha ..	4	240	..
	25	" ..	4	253	20
	26	Mula ..	4	266	40
Makara (Capricorn)	27	Puppha San ..	4	270	..
	28	Uttra San ..	1	280	..
	29	" ..	3	293	20
Kum (Aquarius)	30	Saravan ..	4	300	..
	31	Dhanasiddha ..	2	306	40
	32	" ..	2	320	..
Mim (Pisces)	33	Sata Bhisha ..	4	330	..
	34	Puppha Parabike ..	3	333	20
	35	" ..	1	346	40
	36	Uttra Parabike ..	4	360	..
	37	Revati ..	4		..

The Moon is full when in the last Point of	Dominants of the groups as shewn in the last column.		Serial order of the months.	Groups of Lunar Mansions.
	Technical Names derived from Full Moon.	Names of 12 year cycle taken from the technically named months.		
1st pad ..	Krittika ..	Krittika ..	8th ..	Krittika. Rohini.
2nd pad ..	Migasi ..	Migasi ..	9th ..	Migasi. Adra.
3rd pad ..	Pusha ..	Pusha ..	10th ..	{ Punna { Pusha. Pusha. Aslesha.
4th pad ..	Magha ..	Magha ..	11th ..	Magha.
1st pad ..	Bala-gunni ..	Bhragunni ..	12th ..	{ P & U { Phalgunni. Hashta.
2nd pad ..	Citra ..	Jeyya ..	1st ..	Citra. Svati.
3rd pad ..	Visakha ..	Visakha ..	2nd ..	Visakha Anuradha. *
4th pad ..	Jettha ..	Jettha ..	3rd ..	Jettha. Mula.
1st pad ..	Ashar or Asanli ..	Asanli ..	4th ..	{ P & U { San.
2nd pad ..	Saravan or Ovanna ..	Saravan ..	5th ..	Saravan. Dhanasiddha. Satabhisha.
3rd pad ..	Bhadra ..	Bhadra ..	6th ..	P & U Parabike.
4th pad ..	Asvin or Ashyujja ..	Ashyujja ..	7th ..	Revati Ashvini Bharani.

Burmese Eras.	Deduct figures of this column and divide by 12.	Remainders counted from Jeyya.	Results as obtained by Jotitatha rule; remainder counted from Saravan as lapsed.	Serial Order.	Burmese Eras.	Deduct figures of this column and divide by 12.	Remainders counted from Jeyya.	Results as obtained by Jotitatha rule; remainder counted from Saravan as lapsed.	Serial Order.
0	..	9	Migasi ..	..	34	2	8	Krittika ..	23
1	..	10	Phusha ..	..	35	..	9	Migasi ..	24
2	..	11	Magha ..	..	36	..	10	Phusha ..	25
3	3	12	Bhragunni ..	..	37	..	11	Magha ..	26
4	..	1	Jeyya ..	..	38	..	12	Bhragunni ..	27
5	..	2	Visakha ..	..	39	..	1	Jeyya ..	28
6	..	3	Jettha ..	..	40	..	2	Visakha ..	29
7	..	4	Asanli ..	..	41	..	3	Jettha ..	30
8	..	5	Saravan ..	..	42	..	4	Asanli ..	31
9	..	6	Bhadra ..	..	43	..	5	Saravan ..	32
10	..	7	Ashyujja ..	..	44	..	6	Bhadra ..	33
11	..	8	Krittika ..	*	45	..	7	Ashyujja ..	34
12	2	10	Phusha ..	1	46	..	8	Krittika ..	35
13	..	11	Magha ..	2	47	..	9	Migasi ..	36
14	..	12	Bhragunni ..	3	48	..	10	Phusha ..	37
15	..	1	Jeyya ..	4	49	..	11	Magha ..	38
16	..	2	Visakha ..	5	50	..	12	Bhragunni ..	39
17	..	3	Jettha ..	6	51	..	1	Jeyya ..	40
18	..	4	Asanli ..	7	52	..	2	Visakha ..	41
19	..	5	Saravan ..	8	53	..	3	Jettha ..	42
20	..	6	Bhadra ..	9	54	..	4	Asanli ..	43
21	..	7	Ashyujja ..	10	55	..	5	Saravan ..	44
22	..	8	Krittika ..	11	56	..	6	Bhadra ..	45
23	..	9	Migasi ..	12	57	..	7	Ashyujja ..	46
24	..	10	Phusha ..	13	58	..	8	Krittika ..	47
25	..	11	Magha ..	14	59	..	9	Migasi ..	48
26	..	12	Bhragunni ..	15	60	..	10	Phusha ..	49
27	..	1	Jeyya ..	16	61	..	11	Magha ..	50
28	..	2	Visakha ..	17	62	..	12	Bhragunni ..	51
29	..	3	Jettha ..	18	63	..	1	Jeyya ..	52
30	..	4	Asanli ..	19	64	..	2	Visakha ..	53
31	..	5	Saravan ..	20	65	..	3	Jettha ..	54
32	..	6	Bhadra ..	21	66	..	4	Asanli ..	55
33	..	7	Ashyujja ..	22	67	..	5	Saravan ..	56

* Migasi is expunged.

Burmese Eras.	Deduct figures of this column and divide by 12.	Remainders counted from Jeyya.	Results as obtained by Jotitatha rule; remainder counted from Saravan as lapsed.	Serial Order.	Burmese Eras.	Deduct figures of this column and divide by 12.	Remainders counted from Jeyya.	Results as obtained by Jotitatha rule; remainder counted from Saravan as lapsed.	Serial Order.
68	2	6	Bhadra ..	57	102	1	5	Saravan ..	6
69	..	7	Ashyujja ..	58	103	..	6	Bhadra ..	7
70	..	8	Krittika ..	59	104	..	7	Ashyujja ..	8
71	..	9	Migasi ..	60	105	..	8	Krittika ..	9
72	..	10	Phusha ..	61	106	..	9	Migasi ..	10
73	..	11	Magha ..	62	107	..	10	Phusha ..	11
74	..	12	Bhraguṇṇi ..	63	108	..	11	Magha ..	12
75	..	1	Jeyya ..	64	109	..	12	Bhraguṇṇi ..	13
76	..	2	Visakha ..	65	110	..	1	Jeyya ..	14
77	..	3	Jetṭha ..	66	111	..	2	Visakha ..	15
78	..	4	Asanḷi ..	67	112	..	3	Jetṭha ..	16
79	..	5	Saravan ..	68	113	..	4	Asanḷi ..	17
80	..	6	Bhadra ..	69	114	..	5	Saravan ..	18
81	..	7	Ashyujja ..	70	115	..	6	Bhadra ..	19
82	..	8	Krittika ..	71	116	..	7	Ashyujja ..	20
83	..	9	Migasi ..	72	117	..	8	Krittika ..	21
84	..	10	Phusha ..	73	118	..	9	Migasi ..	22
85	..	11	Magha ..	74	119	..	10	Phusha ..	23
86	..	12	Bhraguṇṇi ..	75	120	..	11	Magha ..	24
87	..	1	Jeyya ..	76	121	..	12	Bhraguṇṇi ..	25
88	..	2	Visakha ..	77	122	..	1	Jeyya ..	26
89	..	3	Jetṭha ..	78	123	..	2	Visakha ..	27
90	..	4	Asanḷi ..	79	124	..	3	Jetṭha ..	28
91	..	5	Saravan ..	80	125	..	4	Asanḷi ..	29
92	..	6	Bhadra ..	81	126	..	5	Saravan ..	30
93	..	7	Ashyujja ..	82	127	..	6	Bhadra ..	31
94	..	8	Krittika ..	83	128	..	7	Ashyujja ..	32
95	..	9	Migasi ..	84	129	..	8	Krittika ..	33
96	..	10	Phusha ..	85*	130	..	9	Migasi ..	34
97	1	12	Bhraguṇṇi ..	1	131	..	10	Phusha ..	35
98	..	1	Jeyya ..	2	132	..	11	Magha ..	36
99	..	2	Visakha ..	3	133	..	12	Bhraguṇṇi ..	37
100	..	3	Jetṭha ..	4	134	..	1	Jeyya ..	38
101	..	4	Asanḷi ..	5	135	..	2	Visakha ..	39

* 86 is Magha expunged.

Burmese Eras.	Deduct figures of this column and divide by 12.	Remainders counted from Jeyya.	Results as obtained by Jotitatha rule; remainder counted from Saravan as lapsed.	Serial Order.	Burmese Eras.	Deduct figures of this column and divide by 12.	Remainders counted from Jeyya.	Results as obtained by Jotitatha rule; remainder counted from Saravan as lapsed.	Serial Order.
136	1	3	Jettha ..	40	170	1	1	Jeyya ..	74
137	..	4	Asanli ..	41	171	..	2	Visakha ..	75
138	..	5	Saravan ..	42	172	..	3	Jettha ..	76
139	..	6	Bhadra ..	43	173	..	4	Asanli ..	77
140	..	7	Ashyujja ..	44	174	..	5	Saravan ..	78
141	..	8	Krittika ..	45	175	..	6	Bhadra ..	79
142	..	9	Migasi ..	46	176	..	7	Ashyujja ..	80
143	..	10	Phusha ..	47	177	..	8	Krittika ..	81
144	..	11	Magha ..	48	178	..	9	Migasi ..	82
145	..	12	Bhragunni ..	49	179	..	10	Phusha ..	83
146	..	1	Jeyya ..	50	180	..	11	Magha ..	84
147	..	2	Visakha ..	51	181	..	12	Bhragunni ..	85*
148	..	3	Jettha ..	52	182	0	2	Visakha ..	1
149	..	4	Asanli ..	53	183	..	3	Jettha ..	2
150	..	5	Saravan ..	54	184	..	4	Asanli ..	3
151	..	6	Bhadra ..	55	185	..	5	Saravan ..	4
152	..	7	Ashyujja ..	56	186	..	6	Bhadra ..	5
153	..	8	Krittika ..	57	187	..	7	Ashyujja ..	6
154	..	9	Migasi ..	58	188	..	8	Krittika ..	7
155	..	10	Phusha ..	59	189	..	9	Migasi ..	8
156	..	11	Magha ..	60	190	..	10	Phusha ..	9
157	..	12	Bhragunni ..	61	191	..	11	Magha ..	10
158	..	1	Jeyya ..	62	192	..	12	Bhragunni ..	11
159	..	2	Visakha ..	63	193	..	1	Jeyya ..	12
160	..	3	Jettha ..	64	194	..	2	Visakha ..	13
161	..	4	Asanli ..	65	195	..	3	Jettha ..	14
162	..	5	Saravan ..	66	196	..	4	Asanli ..	15
163	..	6	Bhadra ..	67	197	..	5	Saravan ..	16
164	..	7	Ashyujja ..	68	198	..	6	Bhadra ..	17
165	..	8	Krittika ..	69	199	..	7	Ashyujja ..	18
166	..	9	Migasi ..	70	200	..	8	Krittika ..	19
167	..	10	Pusha ..	71	201	..	9	Migasi ..	20
168	..	11	Magha ..	72	202	..	10	Phusha ..	21
169	..	12	Bhragunni ..	73	203	..	11	Magha ..	22

* 86 is Citra or Jeyya expunged.

Burmese Eras.	Deduct figures of this column and divide by 12.	Remainders counted from Jeyya.	Results as obtained by Jotitatha rule; remainder counted from Saravan as lapsed.	Serial Order.	Burmese Eras.	Deduct figures of this column and divide by 12.	Remainders counted from Jeyya.	Results as obtained by Jotitatha rule; remainder counted from Saravan as lapsed.	Serial Order.
204	..	12	Bhragunni ..	23	236	..	8	Krittika ..	55
205	..	1	Jeyya ..	24	237	..	9	Migasi ..	56
206	..	2	Visakha ..	25	238	..	10	Phusha ..	57
207	..	3	Jettha ..	26	239	..	11	Magha ..	58
208	..	4	Asanli ..	27	240	..	12	Bhragunni ..	59
209	..	5	Saravan ..	28	241	..	1	Jeyya ..	60
210	..	6	Bhadra ..	29	242	..	2	Visakha ..	61
211	..	7	Ashyujja ..	30	243	..	3	Jettha ..	62
212	..	8	Krittika ..	31	244	..	4	Asanli ..	63
213	..	9	Migasi ..	32	245	..	5	Saravan ..	64
214	..	10	Phusha ..	33	246	..	6	Bhadra ..	65
215	..	11	Magha ..	34	247	..	7	Ashyujja ..	66
216	..	12	Bhragunni ..	35	248	..	8	Krittika ..	67
217	..	1	Jeyya ..	36	249	..	9	Migasi ..	68
218	..	2	Visakha ..	37	250	..	10	Phusha ..	69
219	..	3	Jettha ..	38	251	..	11	Magha ..	70
220	..	4	Asanli ..	39	252	..	12	Bhragunni ..	71
221	..	5	Saravan ..	40	253	..	1	Jeyya ..	72
222	..	6	Bhadra ..	41	254	..	2	Visakha ..	73
223	..	7	Ashyujja ..	42	255	..	3	Jettha ..	74
224	..	8	Krittika ..	43	256	..	4	Asanli ..	75
225	..	9	Migasi ..	44	257	..	5	Saravan ..	76
226	..	10	Phusha ..	45	258	..	6	Bhadra ..	77
227	..	11	Magha ..	46	259	..	7	Ashyujja ..	78
228	..	12	Bhragunni ..	47	260	..	8	Krittika ..	79
229	..	1	Jeyya ..	48	261	..	9	Migasi ..	80
230	..	2	Visakha ..	49	262	..	10	Phusha ..	81
231	..	3	Jettha ..	50	263	..	11	Magha ..	82
232	..	4	Asanli ..	51	264	..	12	Bhragunni ..	83
233	..	5	Saravan ..	52	265	..	1	Jeyya ..	84
234	..	6	Bhadra ..	53	266	..	2	Visakha ..	85*
235	..	7	Ashyujja ..	54					

*86 is Jettha expunged.

N.B.—Years after these are abridged and given for every 85 years.

Burmese Eras			From Eras tentatively deduct figures of this column and divided by 12.	Re-mainders counted from Jeyya.	Results as obtained by Jotitatha rule remainders counted from Saravan as lapsed for 1st column.	Names of every 86th expunged ones.
From	To	Inter-val of years.				
267	351	85	11	4	Asanli ..	Saravan.
352	436	85	10	6	Bhadra ..	Ashyujja.
437	521	85	9	8	Krittika ..	Migasi.
522	606	85	8	10	Phusha ..	Magha.
607	691	85	7	12	Bhragunni .	Citra.
692	776	85	6	2	Visakha ..	Jettha.
777	861	85	5	4	Asanli ..	Saravan.
862	946	85	4	6	Bhadra ..	Ashyujja.
947	1031	85	3	8	Krittika ..	Migasi.
1032	1116	85	2	10	Phusha ..	Magha.
1117	1201	85	1	12	Bhragunni .	Citra.
1202	1286	85	0	2	Visakha ..	Jettha.
1287	1371	85	11	4	Asanli ..	Saravan.
1372	1456	85	10	6	Bhadra ..	Ashyujja.

THOS. P. deSILVA.

BUDDHIST WILLS.

On the 23rd August 1917, at the Fourth Agricultural and Co-operative Conference held at Mandalay, the following Resolutions on Buddhist Wills were unanimously passed :

- I That the grant of power to make testamentary dispositions of property is regarded with hearty approval.
- II That the grant of such power would greatly assist that agricultural development at which the Co-operative Movement aims.
- III That there is, at the present time, a strong feeling in favour of legislation for the conferment of testamentary power on Burman Buddhists.
- IV That public opinion is the same in the larger towns as in rural districts, so far as such opinion could be ascertained at the Conference.
- V That a testamentary document in the form of a Burmese "*thedanza*" is preferred, because it is in accordance with national sentiments, custom and usage.

VI That, if legislation is undertaken, the question of testamentary power being absolute or restricted should be considered by a Committee of experts, in view of the differences in the rulings of the Judicial authorities in the domain of Buddhist Law.

These Resolutions are of great importance because they run counter to the rulings given by Sir Arthur Phayre and Messrs. Sandford, Quinton, Wilkinson, Crosthwaite and Meres that a Burman Buddhist cannot make a Will, the first ruling being given in 1866 and the last in 1888. These rulings appear to be based upon two things: (i) the absence of the term "*thedanza*" or testamentary document in the *Dhammathats*, and (ii) the non-recognition of testamentary power in the *Vinaya* or *ecclesiastical* law. In 1895, at the instance of Mr. G. D. Burgess, I. C. S., Judicial Commissioner, Upper Burma, the Kinwun Mingyi, C. S. I., the Premier of the late *régime*, started his Digest of *Dhammathats*, and it is now found that, in, at least, nine of these works, namely, the Pyu, Myingun, Dhammathat-kyaw, Manuyin, Rāsi, Rājābala, Sōnda, Pannam, and Kyannet, a declaration is made that a gift of property made by a person to take effect upon his death, is valid. Here, we have the essence of testamentary power, which underlies English Wills, and such a declaration is of more importance than the mere absence of the term *thedanza* in Burmese law-books. Although the term *thedanza* is not mentioned in the *Dhammathats*, it is freely used in *Ameindaws* or Royal Decrees, during the last hundred years or more, since the days of King Bodawpaya. This fact alone is sufficient to prove the testamentary power of the Burman Buddhists. Again, the *Dhammathats* treat of Buddhist *secular* law, by which Burmese laymen are governed, while the *Vinaya* deals with Buddhist *ecclesiastical* law, by which Buddhist monks are governed. The two sets of laws are entirely different, and yet, in 1888, Mr. Meres, the learned Judicial Commissioner of Lower Burma, referred to Chapter II, Book X, of the *Cūlavagga*, which is one of the books of the *Vinaya* or *ecclesiastical* law, in which the nearest approach to a germ of the testamentary power is to be found, but, from the extracts of the commentators on that work, it appeared to him that every one of these extracts relates to gifts *inter vivos* with delivery during the donor's life-time. Once for all it may be stated that no bequest may be made, among the Buddhist monks, under the *Vinaya* or *ecclesiastical* law, while such a gift may be made, among Buddhist laymen, under the *Dhammathats* or *secular* law. To import a ruling from one body of law into another is entirely irrelevant. Nor was Mr. Meres quite judicious, when he confined his attention and examination to only one out of the *nine thedanzas* submitted to him by the Kinwun Mingyi and the other ex-Ministers of the Hluttaw. The cumulative evidence of all the nine documents should have been taken into consideration, and its bearing on the question should have been carefully weighed. Indeed, the conditions of a valid *thedanza* are thus set forth by these gentlemen: "Provided that the testator is not *in extremis*, that he has not fallen into that state of unconsciousness which precedes death, that the testament, either written or oral, is proved to have been made in the presence of respectable monks or laymen, or under circumstances which render it valid, such a testament is not

contrary to the Buddhist Scriptures or the secular books as the *Dhammathats*." It will thus be seen that what is known as a *thedanza* among the Burmans partakes of the nature of a testament as well as a deed of gift *inter vivos*, and Mr. Meres is evidently wrong when he interprets such a document only as a mere deed of gift *inter vivos*. It may be written or oral, and may wholly or partially take effect during the life-time of a donor. It is drawn up when the testator is in old age, or suffering illness, or when he feels that his end is drawing near. It is attested by reliable witnesses, among whom, the *Sayadaw* or domestic Chaplain plays a conspicuous rôle; but its secrecy is not observed. It is seldom, if ever, revoked or modified. Among the Burman Buddhists, the object of a testamentary disposition of property is to prevent litigation, to produce harmony, and satisfy the legatees, rather than to impose the wishes of the testator upon his heirs, as in the case of English Wills. The duty of the witnesses to a *thedanza* is to act as a board of arbitration and conciliation between the testator and his heirs and to smooth over all difficulties connected with the division of the estate, with a special eye to the prevention of future litigation or strife. In all Asiatic countries, the underlying principle is to secure a confession before conviction in all criminal cases, and to secure a compromise or mutual agreement in all civil matters. There is no striving after ideals of absolute justice, and a legal enforcement of one's rights irrespective of the feelings of others is repugnant to Asiatic systems of law.

According to Sir Henry Maine, the progress and civilization of a nation depend on Wills and Contracts. In the absence of these two institutions, no stability is attached to property, and the social atmosphere becomes pervaded by an element of doubt, uncertainty and liability to constant change. Indeed, the very success of the Co-operative Movement, which tends towards the salvation of Burma, is based on these two conditions. When a person takes a share in a Co-operative Credit Society, he has to sign a document wherein he nominates a legatee in the event of his death. This is nothing but conferring testamentary power on the share-holder. Again, he has to give an undertaking that he will abide by the rulers of the Society, thereby establishing a contractual relationship between the Society and himself. If both the testamentary and contractual powers are withheld from the Burman Buddhists, the entire Co-operative Movement will come down like a house of cards.

The question whether testamentary power should be conferred on Burman Buddhists has been considered by the Local Government three times, and has been rejected, namely, in 1881, 1888, and 1904. For the fourth time, it is again under consideration. On the three former occasions, the Kinwun Mingyi's Digest of Buddhist Law had not been published, and no opportunity was afforded to the representatives from larger towns and rural areas to meet together, compare notes, and to discuss the subject in a friendly spirit, and the opinions then given were those of isolated groups, which had not been subject to intelligent, well-informed, or disinterested criticism. The last Agricultural and Co-operative Conference, which met at Mandalay in August last, did national service to the Burmese people in that it afforded such an excellent opportunity for the discussion of a subject, which is so pregnant

with future possibilities for the advancement of their race. Representatives from towns and villages, from Lower and Upper Burma, officials and non-officials, lawyers and merchants, bankers and money-lenders, village headmen and cultivators, members of the Co-operative Movement etc., numbering more than 1,000 people, all met together. The debate was of unusual interest, as there was a clash of minds, as the subject was looked at from different angles of vision, and as variegated and useful information poured in from all quarters. At last, after an agitation extending over half a century, and after much heated feeling had been manifested, a complete unanimity of opinion was secured which will, no doubt, strengthen the hands of the Local Government in any measure that may be undertaken.

TAW SEIN KO.

A NOTE ON LETWÈ-THONDARA'S POEM.

(Continued from Vol. VII, Part I).

[Saya Thein avers that in the year 1262 B. E. he visited, in company with a medical practitioner, the *Zambu-Simee paya* mentioned in the first verse. At his request, Saya U Saing of Shwebo has supplied a sketch of its environments. See accompanying map. The pagoda itself is recorded to have been "the meritorious work of Bodaw" as testified by a post, the *Bodaw* being generally known to be Alaungpaya's father. It was repaired in the year 1256 by a clerk—*Editor*].

ရွှေဘိုမြို့၊ ဇမ္ဗူဆီမီးဘုရားအကြောင်း။

မြို့မှာ သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၂၆၂ ခုနှစ်က၊ ရွှေဘိုမြို့သို့အလည်အပတ် ရောက်သောအခါ။ သမားဆရာကြီး ဦးတုတ်ကြီးနှင့်တွေ့၍၊ ရွှေဘိုမြို့တွင်း၌ ဘုရားများကိုလိုက်၍၊ ပူဇော် ကြည်ညိုရာ၊ ဇမ္ဗူဆီမီးဘုရားကို ကြည်ညိုပူဇော်ခဲ့ရသည်။

မည်သည့်ရပ်ကွက်တွင်ရှိကြောင်း အသေအချာ မမှတ်ခဲ့မိ သောကြောင့်၊ ရွှေဘိုမြို့ ကျောင်းဆရာ ကြီး ဦးဆိုင်ကိုစုံစမ်းမေးမြန်းရာ၊ ၎င်းဆရာကြီးက၊ မြေပုံနှင့်တကွ အကြောင်းအရာ အတ္ထုပ္ပတ္တိများကို ရေးပို့ လိုက်သည့်အတိုင်း ထည့်သွင်းဖော်ပြပါသည်။

ဆရာသိန်း၊ မော်ပီမြို့။

၁၆-၇-၁၇။

ရွှေဘိုမြို့၊ ကျောင်းဆရာကြီး ဦးဆိုင် ပေးစာ။

အမိန့်ရှိတော်မူ၍၊ ဇမ္ဗူဆီမီးဘုရားသို့၊ သွားရောက်မှတ်သား တိုင်းတာရာ၊ ၎င်းဘုရားသည် စေတီ တော်ငါးမျိုးတွင်မြေပေါက်စေတီလုံး၊ ခြင်္သေ့မြေနှင်း၊ ဘိနပ်တော်အဝန်း ၁၂၂ ပေ၊ သပိတ်မှောက်ထိအရပ် တော်တောင်ပေါင်း ၄၀ နှင့် ၂ မိုက်၊ မုတ်မပါ ဖြစ်ပါကြောင်း။

၎င်းဘုရားအရံတွင်း၊ မြောက်ဘက်က လောကမာရဇိန်ဘုရား၊ တောင်ဘက်က ဘုရားနှစ်ဆူမှာသွဲ့ တော်မရှိ၊ တဆူ ကမုဋ္ဌော၊ တဆူ ကစည်း ခုံတော်၊ ကုလားကျောင်းခံ ဖြစ်ပါကြောင်း။

၎င်းဇမ္ဗူဆီမီးဘုရား ရင်ပြင်ရွှေ၊ ငါးပေကွာ တွင် အုတ်ကျောင်းတိုက် ၁။ ၎င်းရွှေက ကဆုန် ၁။ ရှိသည်ပြင်။ မော်ကွန်း တိုင်တွင် (ဘိုးတော်ကောင်းမှုဇမ္ဗူဆီမီးဘုရား) ဟုအမှတ်အသား ရှိပါကြောင်း။

၎င်း ဘုရားကို ရွာ တော မြို့ စာရေးကြီး က၊ ၁၂၅၆ ခုနှစ်တွင်၊ ပျက်စီးယိုယွင်းသည်ကို ပြင်ဆင်၍၊ ခေါင်းလောင်းတွင် ဆုတောင်းစာနှင့် ရေးသား ထားပါကြောင်း။

၎င်း ဘုရားကို တည်ထားသူမှာ၊ အလောင်းမင်းတရားကြီး၏ ခမည်းတော် သီရိဓမ္မရာဇာဘွဲ့ခံ၊ မင်းညွှန်၏ ကုသိုလ်ဖြစ်သည်။ ဤအရပ်၏ ထက်ဝန်းကျင်လူတို့ပြောပါကြောင်း။

၎င်းဘုရားနှင့်စပ်လျဉ်း၍၊ နီးရာကျောင်းတိုက်မှာ၊ အရှေ့တောင်ပေငါးရာခန့်ကွာတွင်၊ ချမ်းသာကြီးတောင်ဘက်တိုက်၊ အနောက်တောင်ဘက်၊ လမ်းမှအနောက်ဘက် ပေ ၂၅၀ ခန့်ကွာတွင်၊ ရွှေဂူ တိုက်ကျောင်းလည်း ရှိပါ၍၊ အကြမ်းမြေပုံကိုလည်း ပူးတွဲပေးပါသည်။

ဦးဆိုင်၊ ကျောင်းဆရာကြီး။

MAUNG SAN THU, MA PWA THAIK.*

(*Saya Saw, Kawimandaing Pitakat Press 1917.*)

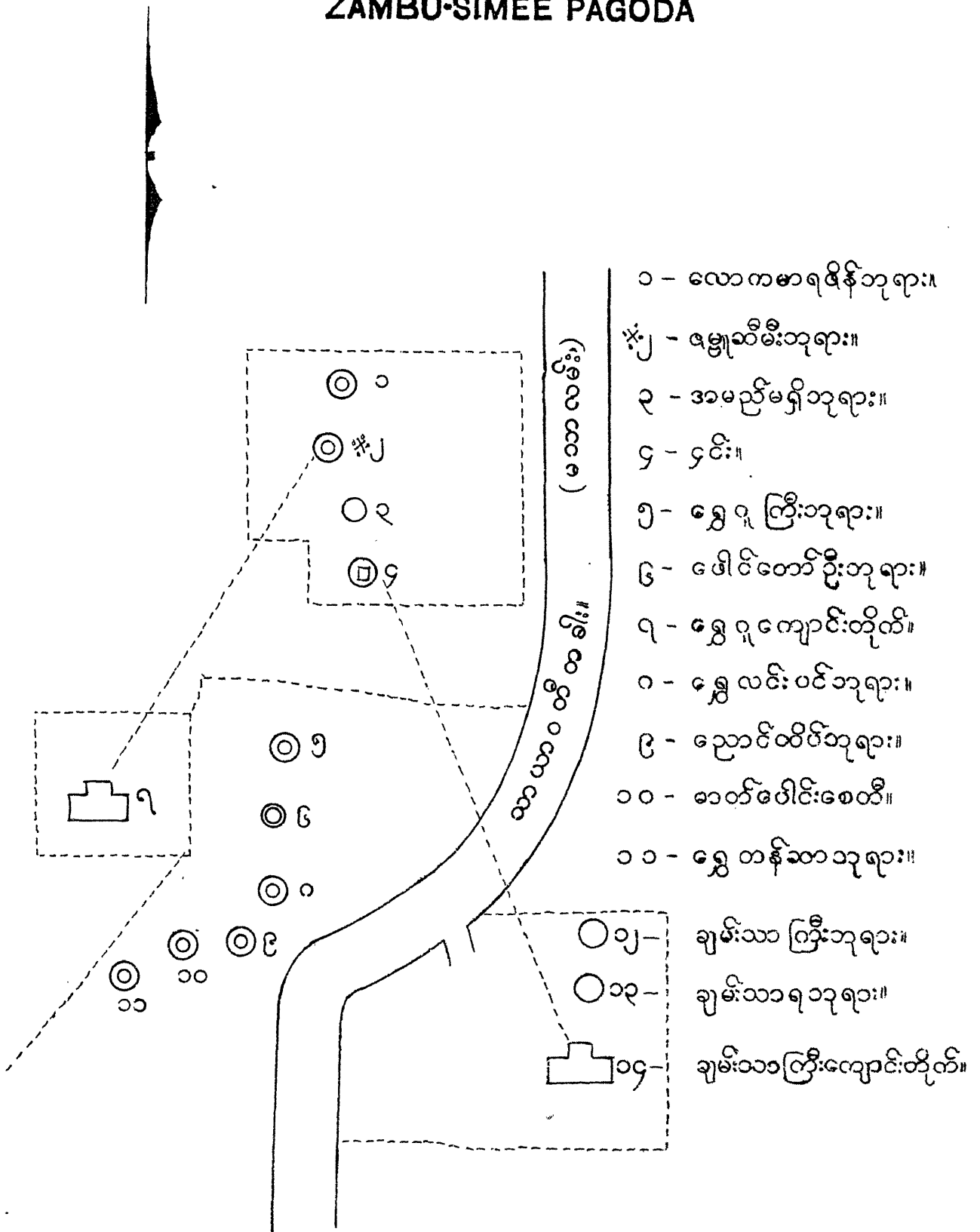
After a prolonged debauch of English fiction to which I was condemned during certain recent sea voyages, I had the good fortune to come across the first volume of the story of Maung San Thu and Ma Pwa Thaik. It was such a refreshing change after the mouldy contents of ships, libraries that I cannot refrain from saying a word or two in its praise. For all I know, there may be half a dozen contemporary novels of equal merit. If so, let others tell of them—and indeed the Editor might perhaps arrange for the systematic review of works of imaginative literature as they appear. This however is by the way.

The story is only half told in the present volume of some 150 pages: a sort of table of contents of Vol. II, promises some excitement in the continuation. Maung San Thu a boy of good family from Pakokku while at school in Rangoon, falls in love with Ma Min Swe, daughter of a wealthy merchant. (The author deprecates school-boy love affairs, in the text, much as Mr. Richardson, in an appendix, warns young gentlemen against romantic alliances with improbable Pamelas.) However, the hero would do it and in spite of her father's opposition made considerable progress in the young lady's affections. Family circumstances compelled his return to *Shwemya*—why is it impossible to talk of *Shwemya*?—but he arranged to meet Ma Min Swe at a great pagoda festival in Upper Burma. She failed to appear: One Ma Pwa Thaik, a *myo thugyi's* daughter, who bore a close resemblance to Ma Min Swe, captured his fancy and he marries her in due form before the end of the volume.

This is a brief, a very brief, sketch of the story. It omits probably most things that the author would consider worthy of mention—the Rangoon scenes, the mysteries of the forest in which the pagoda is situated, the stratagems of the lovers, the devices and desires of the minor characters, who, as in every good novel they should be, are much more amusing than the principals. One hopes to meet again in the second volume the amorous but

* Received in July just too late to be included in the last number of the Journal—*Editor*.

ZAMBU-SIMEE PAGODA



prudent *myook* not yet "permanent" and with his social position to establish. U Mun Ya, a Talaing timber merchant with whom San Thu goes into partnership provides several amusing scenes, as where he personates a *pongyi* without remembering to shave off his moustache, helps Ma Pwa Thaik to write a love-song, with insertions that are only justified by *necessitas ineluctabilis metri*, and generally stage-manages the meetings of the lovers. One cannot help feeling that the author had in view a dramatic performance of his novel. U Mum Ya's practical demonstration of how the *thuyaungthis* are cut has the simple humour of a gentleman sitting down on his hat—but it is the natural climax of the enthusiasm into which he has talked himself.

The book, however, is no mere succession of farcical incidents but is quite an interesting story of modern Burma. It is professedly written for edification. I trust I have done the author no wrong by showing that his pill, if there is one, has a good thick sugar coating.

J. A. STEWART.

ပသင်္ဂိသောဓနီသတ်ညွှန်းကျမ်းမှားယွင်းပုံအကြောင်း။

BEING A REVIEW IN BURMESE

BY

SAYA PE on U TIN'S PASANGAVISODHANĪ.

အထက်မြန်မာနိုင်ငံ၊ ပုဂံမြို့၊ နယ်ပိုင်ဝန်ထောက် ဦးတင် စီရင်ရေးသားလိုက်သည့် ပသင်္ဂိသောဓနီသတ်ညွှန်းစာအုပ်ကို တွေ့ရှိတတ်ရှုရာ။ ၎င်းကျမ်းဆရာသည် စဉ်လာရှေးနှုန်း၊ ထီးနန်းလွှတ်ရုံး၊ ရေးထုံး ရေးပုံ၊ ကိုယ်ကြို ဒိဋ္ဌ၊ ထုံးမှန် စမူ။ အရိုးခံ သက်သေရ။ မြန်မာ့ ဘာသာ၊ နည်းနယာမှာ။ ကောင်းစွာကျန။ လုံလောက်လှသည့်လက္ခဏာ။ ဝန်ခံရာရောက်သည့် အဓိပ္ပါယ်စကားသွား။ ရေးသားပါရှိသည့်အရာ။ များစွာတွေ့ရှိရသည်။ သို့တွေ့ရှိသည့် အလျောက်၊ စစ်လျှောက် ကြည့်ရှုသည့်အခါ။ စာတအုပ်လုံးကို ထားဘိဦး။ ကျမ်းဦးပဏာမတိုင်၍ စကားရပ်အနည်းငယ်ကလေးမှာပင်။ ရှေးအစဉ်အလာ။ ကျမ်းဆရာတို့တန္တိ။ ပဝေဏီထုံးစံ။ လမ်းမှန်မကူ။ မှားယွင်းချွတ်ချော်လှသည်။ ခလိတအချက် ၁၄ ချက်မျှ ပါလာတွေ့ရှိပြန်သဖြင့်။ ၎င်းစာအုပ် မျက်နှာနံပါတ် ၉ တွင်။ “မကြိုက်ဆင်ခြင်။ ကြိုက်ယူငင်။ မှားပြင်ကျေးဇူးတင်ပါသည်” စသော ကျမ်းဆရာမှာထားချက်အရ။ ကျွန်တော်ဉာဏ်မှီသမျှ။ အောက်တွင်ဘော်ပြသည်။ ခလိတအချက်စုမှာ။ လောကုပဒေ။ ဓမ္မပဒေ။ ပဝေဏီစဉ်လာ။ မြန်မာတို့ထုံးတမ်း။ မှီငြမ်းအလာ။ ယုတ္တာယုတ္တိ။ ရှိမရှိကို။ ပညာရှိသုခဓိန်တို့။ နှိုင်းချိန်ဆုံးဖြတ်တော်မူကြပါမည့်အကြောင်း။ တောင်းပန်ပါသည်။

၁ အချက်။ ။ပသင်္ဂိသောဓနီ သတ်ညွှန်းစာအုပ်မျက်နှာ “က” မာတိကာတွင်။ “ထိုအကြံပေးချက်တွင်၊ ပသင်္ဂိသောဓနီသတ်ညွှန်းကို။ ပုံမနှိပ်မီ။ တော်စိန်ခိုသခင်ထံပို့ရန်ဖြစ်သည်” ဟုပါရှိရာ၌။ “တွင်” ကို။ အကာရကဖြစ်လျှင် နိဗ္ဗာရဏ။ ကာရကဖြစ်လျှင် (ဩကာသ) အာဓာရအဖြစ် နှစ်မျိုးနှင့်သာ သုံးနိုင်သည်။ သို့သုံးလျှင်လည်း။ အပေါင်း နိဗ္ဗာရဏမှာ အစိတ် နိဗ္ဗာရဏီယနှင့်။ တည်ရာ အာဓာရမှာ တည်တတ်သောအာဓာရနှင့်တွဲ၍။ သုံးရမြဲသဒ္ဓါနည်းရှိသည်။ “အကြံပေးချက်တွင်” ဟူသောစကား၌ “တွင်” ကို။ ဆိုသည့်သဒ္ဓါထုံးနည်းအရ။ စပ်ဟပ်ကြံစည်၍မရ။ အကယ်၍ နိဗ္ဗာရဏ အဖြစ်နှင့် ပသင်္ဂိသောဓနီအား။ “လူတို့တွင် မင်းသည်ရဲရင့်၏” ဆိုသကဲ့သို့။ ၎င်း၏စပ်ရာ နိဗ္ဗာရဏီယစကား ပါရှိရမည်ဖြစ်ပါလျက်။ မပါမရှိဖြစ်၍ နိဗ္ဗာရဏဟုမဆိုနိုင်။ အကယ်၍ အာဓာရအဖြစ်နှင့် ရေးသည်ဆိုဦးအံ့။ “ကောင်းကင်၌ ငှက်တို့သည် ပျံကုန်

၏” ဆိုသကဲ့သို့။ “တင်” ဟူသော (အာဇာနည်) ဩကာသ ကာရကနှင့် လျော်စွာ။ စပ်ရာ အာဇာနည်ကြိယာ ပါရှိသင့်လျက် မပါမရှိဖြစ်၍။ “ဖြစ်သည်” ဟူသောကြိယာပင် အာဇာနည်ဟု ပသင်္ဂါဆရာ ဆိုရတော့မည် ဖြစ်သည်။ သို့ဖြစ်ခဲ့လျှင်လည်း။ “မြင်မလျော်။ ဆင်တော်နှင့်ခလောက်။ လျော်ကားမှာ ဝန်တင်လို့။ ကရင်မှာ စလွယ်သိုင်းတယ်။ ကျိုင်းနှင့်သပေါက်” ဆိုသကဲ့သို့။ ကြိယာနှင့် ကာရက။ ပါစင်အောင်ခွကျ၍။ ပဏ္ဍိတတို့ ရယ်ဘွယ်ရာ။ ရှေးဦးစွာ ချွတ်ယွင်းလှသည်။ ပဌမခလိတအချက်။

၂ အချက်။ ။မာတိကာအဆုံးပါ ကျောက်စာဝန်ထံ အစီရင်ခံစာတွင် “ပသင်္ဂိ ဝိသောဓနီ သတ်ညွှန်းကို ဘတ်ပြရာတွင် ပြင်ဆင်သည်မှာ” စသည်ဖြင့် ပါရှိရာ၌။ “သည်မှာ” ဟူသော ကတ္တားကို။ စပ်ရန် ဆိုင်ရာ ကြိယာ မပါမရှိ ဖြစ်၍ မထည့်သင့်။ “ပေါ်လာသေးသည်” ဟူသော ကြိယာနှင့် စပ်သည် ဆိုလျှင်လည်း။ “ပြင်ဆင်သည်မှာပေါ်လာသေးသည်” ဟုရှေ့နောက်စကား စပ်ဟပ် ယူရမည် အမှန် ဖြစ်ရကား။ “တုတ်ကိုကိုင်လို့။ ခဲနှင့်ရိုက်။ ပေါင်ကိုမှန်လို့။ မျက်စိကျိုး။ သွားဟောက်တောက်ကန်း” ဆိုသည့် အလား။ ငန်းဘမ်းသူစကားမျိုးသာ ဖြစ်ရာသည်။

တနည်းလည်း။ ။ငင်းဝါကျနောက်နားတွင်ပင် “ပြင်ဆင်သည့်အရာ” ဟုဒုတိယကတ္တားတခု သီးသန့် ပါရှိပြန်ရာ။ သို့ပါရှိသည့်ဒုတိယကတ္တားနှင့် “ပြင်ဆင်သည်မှာ” ဟူသောပဌမကတ္တား။ ပကတိဝိကတိအရာ မျိုးမဟုတ်ဖြစ်၍။ တဝါကျမှာ ကတ္တားတခုသာ ရှိသင့်သော သဒ္ဒါနည်းအရ။ ဒုတိယကတ္တားကို အတည်ဆိုလိုက်။ ပဌမ ကတ္တားကို မထည့်သင့်။ ။“ဗူးလေးရာမှာ။ ဖရုံဆင့်” ဆိုသည့်အလား။ ။ငင်းဝါကျနောက်နားမှာပင်။ “ပြင်ဆင်သည့်အရာ” ဟုအထက်ကတ္တားနှင့် မခြားနားလှသည့် တတိယကတ္တား တချက်ကို။ ထပ်မံထည့်စွက်ပြန်သဖြင့်။ တတန်အပြစ်ရောက်သည်ကို။ စစ်လျှောက်၍ပြန်မလိုပါ။ လွန်စွာထင်ရှား။ ပွင်းမှားချွတ်ချော်လှသည်။ ဒုတိယခလိတအချက်။

၃ အချက်။ ။ငင်းစာ ဒုတိယပိုဒ်တွင် “အောက်ပါအချက် နှစ်ရပ် ပေါ်ထွက် လာပြန်သည် အရ။ တင်ပို့ရခြင်း ဖြစ်ပါသည်” ဟုပါရှိပြီးနောက်။ စတုတ္ထအပိုဒ်အထိ။ အဆိုပါ အချက်နှစ်ရပ်ကို ပြသောစကား အဆုံးတွင် “အချက်များဖြစ်ပါသည်။” ဟုကြိယာသတ်၍ ထည့်ပြန်သည်။ ဤရေးနည်းသည် ရှေး အစဉ်အလာ။ မြန်မာဝိပိ ရေးနည်း မဟုတ်။ ယခုကာလလုပ်။ စာနုရ်ရေးနည်းမျိုးသာ ဖြစ်သည်။ သို့ဖြစ်၍ မြန်မာမင်းလက်ထက်က ထုတ်ပြန်တော်မူသည့် သဿမေဓအခွန်တော်ဥပဒေစသည်ကို ကြည့်ပါက။ ချွတ်ချော် မှားယွင်းကြောင်းသိရမည်။ တတိယခလိတအချက်။

၄ အချက်။ ။ငင်းစာ ပဉ္စမအပိုဒ်တွင် “သည်ကဲ့သို့ အကြံပေးတော်မူသည်မှာ” ဟုပါရှိရာ။ ရှေး ရှေးထုံး သဒ္ဒါနည်းမှန်အရ။ “မှာလည်း” ဟု စတုတ္ထအပိုဒ်စကားကို ချီးမွမ်းခြင်း သမ္ဘာဝနာအနက်ရှိသည့် “လည်း” ဟူသောပုဒ် ပါသင့်လျက် မပါ။ ရှေးထုံးသဒ္ဒါနှင့် မညီသည်လည်းတချက်။

ငင်းအပိုဒ်တွင်ပင် “ရှိပုံကို ပသင်္ဂိဝိသောဓနီတွင်။ သုသင်သည့် အရာ ပါကြောင်း များပါ လျှောက်ထားရာ။” ဟုပါရှိရာ၌။ “ရှိပုံကို” ဟူသောပုဒ်သည် နောက်မှာ ကံပုဒ်တခု ပါသည်ဖြစ်၍။ “လျှောက်ထား” ဟူသောကြိယာ၏ကံ ဖြစ်နိုင်ရန်မရှိ။ “သုတ်သင်” ဟူသောကြိယာ၏ကံသာ ဖြစ်ရန်သင့်သည်လည်း တကြောင်း။ ။တနည်းလည်း။ “တရားစွဲဆို လျှောက်ထားသည့်အခါ။ မှခင်းဖြစ်ပွားရင်း အခြင်းအရာများပါ လျှောက်ထားရသည်” ဟူသောဝါကျမျိုးကဲ့သို့။ ကံပုဒ်နှင့်တကွ။ ရှေ့ကသတ်မှတ်တော်ပြုသည့် ကြိယာ တစုံတရာ ပါရှိရမည် ထုံးစံရှိပါလျက်။ မပါမရှိသည်လည်းတကြောင်း။ ဤအကြောင်းနှစ်ရပ်ကို ထောက်၍။ “ပါကြောင်းများပါ” ဟူသောစကား၌။ သမုစ္စယအနက်။ သမဝါယ အနက် အဓိပ္ပါယ်မျိုးရှိသည့် ဆိုခွင့်ရောက်သည့် “ပါ” ဟူသောပုဒ်မပါသင့်လျက်။ ပါလာပြန်သည်လည်းတချက်။ ဤနှစ်ချက်အပြစ်မှ။ စင်စစ်မလွတ်။ ချော်ချွတ်မှားယွင်းလှသည်။ စတုတ္ထခလိတအချက်။

၅ အချက်။ ။ဆဋ္ဌအပိုဒ်တွင် “ဥယျဉ်အုပ်ရေးမှ ရှေးထုံးမှန်ကြောင်း” ပါရှိရာ။ “ဥယျဉ်အုပ်ရေးမှ” ဟူသောစကားသည် ကျမ်းဆရာဆိုလိုရင်း အာဘော်အတိုင်း “မှန်ကြောင်း” ဟူသော ကြိယာ၏ ကတ္တား စင်စစ်ဖြစ်ပါလျက်။ တတန် ကြိယာဝိသေသန စကား ထင်ရှားအောင် မပြမဆိုဘဲ။ သာမညအားဖြင့် “ရှေးထုံး” ဟုကတ္တားဖြစ်နိုင်သည့် ပုဒ်တခုကိုထပ်၍ ထည့်ပြန်ရာ။ ကတ္တားနှစ်ချက်ဖြစ်ရှိနေသဖြင့်။ မိမိဆိုလိုရာ စကား အဓိပ္ပါယ်သွားမပေါ်အောင်။ ချွတ်ချော်မှားယွင်းလှသည်။ ပဉ္စမခလိတအချက်။

၆ အချက်။ ။သတ္တမအပိုင်းတွင် “ထိုမင်းကြီးကလေတန်သခင်မှာ။ မြန်မာလူမျိုးတို့ အကျိုးကို လိုလားတော်မူခြင်း စောင့်ရှောက်တော်မူခြင်းများပါ သိသာရသည့်အတွက်။ နှစ်သက်ဘွယ် အားထားဘွယ် ကြည်ညိုဘွယ်ကောင်းသော အင်္ဂလိပ် အရာရှိကြီးများ။ ထပ်ခါထပ်ခါ ပေါ်ပေါက် လာသည်မှာ။ မြန်မာလူမျိုးတို့ အကျိုးဖြစ်ထွန်းမည့်အရာ။ များစွာ မျှော်လင့်ဘွယ် ရှိပါသည်ဘုရား” ဟုရှေ့နန်းလွှတ်ရုံး။ ထုံးစံမီ။ ကိုယ်တိုင်သိခဲ့သည့်အရာ။ စီကုံး၍ပြသောစာပါ။ “သခင်မှာ” ၌ “မှာ” ကိုအကယ်၍ အာဇာရ အဖြစ်နှင့် ရေးအံ့။ အာဇာရနှင့် အာဇာရ လျော်စေရန်။ “စောင့်ရှောက်တော်မူခြင်းများ” ဟူသော စကား နောက်က “ရှိကြောင်း” စသော လျော်ရာစကားများကို ထည့်သွင်းလျက်။ မထည့်သည့်ပြင်။ ၄ အချက်က ပြဆိုခဲ့သည့် “ပါ” ဟူသောစကားမျိုးကိုပင် ထည့်သွင်းပြန်သည်ဖြစ်၍။ အာဇာရနှင့်လည်းမဆိုင်။ အကယ်၍ ကတ္တား အဖြစ်နှင့်ရေးအံ့။ ၎င်းကတ္တား၏စပ်ရာ ကြိယာဟု ဆိုရမည့် ပုဒ်တွင်။ ကတ္တားနှင့် မဆီမဆိုင်သည့် “ခြင်း” ဟူသော ဘာဝကြိယာစကားမျိုးကို ထည့်ထားသည်ဖြစ်၍။ ကတ္တားဟူ၍လည်း မဆိုနိုင်။ ။ “သိသာရသည့်အတွက်” ဟူသောစကားမှာ အကြောင်းနိမိတ် ဟိတ်ပြစကားမျိုး ဖြစ်၍။ ဆိုင်ရာအကျိုး နိမိတ္တဝန်။ ဖိုလ်စကား။ ခြားနားကန့်သတ်ပါသင့်လျက်မပါ။ အတင်းသွင်းယူ၍ ပါသည်ဟု ဆိုရိပ်ဆိုရောင်ရှိသည့် စကားမှာလည်း။ ခြားနား ကန့်သတ်၍မဟုတ်။ ဝိသေသနပုဒ်စကားမျိုးသာ ဖြစ်ခြင်းကြောင့်။ ရေးနည်းထုံးစံ။ လမ်းမှန်မသက်။ သဒ္ဒါနည်းပျက်၍။ အနက် အဓိပ္ပါယ် အယူအဆ ရှုပ်ထွေးရန် ရှိသည်။ ။တနည်းလည်း။ ၎င်းဟိတ်ပုဒ်ကို အကယ်၍ “မျှော်လင့်ဘွယ်ရှိပါသည်” ဟူသော အဆုံးကြိယာနှင့်စပ်၍ အဓိပ္ပါယ် ကောက်ယူအံ့။ “နှစ်သက်ဘွယ်။ လ။ ထပ်ခါထပ်ခါ ပေါ်လာသည်မှာ” ဟု ဝါကျစကားသုံး။ ရေးထုံးတမျိုး ကန့်လန့်လန့်ပါနေပြန်၍။ သဒ္ဒါနှင့်ရေးထုံး။ လုံးလုံးမှန်ကန်အောင်။ ကြံဆောင်ယူဆနိုင်ဘွယ်မရှိ။ ဘယ်နန်းဘယ်ထီး။ ဘယ်လွှတ်တော်ကြီးနည်းဟူ၍ပင် မသိနိုင်ဖြစ်တော့သည်။ ။၎င်း “ပေါ်ပေါက်လာသည်မှာ” ဟူသော စကား၌ “မှာ” သည်လည်း အာဇာရဖြစ်နိုင်ဘွယ်မရှိ။ အကယ်၍ ကတ္တားဖြစ်ခဲ့လျှင်လည်း။ ၎င်းကတ္တားနှင့်လျော်သည့် “ဖြစ်၍” စသောပုဒ်မျိုးကို “အရာ” ဟူသော ပုဒ်၏နောက်က ထည့်သွင်းလျက် မထည့်ဖြစ်၍။ ကျမ်းဆရာဆိုလိုချက်။ တဝါကျလုံးအဖြောင့်အဓိပ္ပါယ်နှင့်။ သမ္ပန္နသံဝဏ္ဏနာ။ သဒ္ဒါနည်းအသွားအလာကို။ ကျနစွာ ကြံစည်၍ မရ။ ယခင်ကရှေ့နန်းသုံး။ လွှတ်တော်ကြီး ရေးထုံး။ ပထင်ဝင်မှုန်း၍။ လုံးလုံးပင် ပစ်ရမလောက်။ ကမောက်ကမ ဖြစ်ရှာရသည်။ ဆဋ္ဌခလိတအချက်။

ပထင်ကျမ်းဆရာက ကျောက်စာဝန်ထံအစီရင်ခံစာ။ တမျက်နှာကျော်ကျော်တွင်။ ချွတ်ချော်လှသည့် အချက်ကိုသာ။ အမြင်မျှထုတ်ပြသည်။ ခလိတ ၆ ချက်ကားပြီး၏။

ကျမ်းဦးပဏာမခလိတအချက်ရ။

မျက်နှာနံပါတ် ၁ တွင် “လောကသုံးဖြာတို့တွင်။ မြေဗ္ဗ ၁နတ်လူ။မည်သူမတန်။ သာလွန်ထက်မြက်။ အက္ခရ ကောသလ္လဉာဏ်။ ဝေဘန် ပိုင်းခြားတော် မူနိုင်ခြင်းနှင့် တကွ။ သဗ္ဗဓမ္မ။ တစမကျန်။ ဝေဘန် ပိုင်းခြားတော်မူတတ်သော ဘုရားသျှင်ကို၎င်း။ ဆယ်ပါးသော တရားတော်မြတ်တို့ကို၎င်း။ ရှစ်ပါးသော သင်္ခါတော်မြတ်တို့ကို၎င်း။ လ။ အက္ခရအစဉ်အတိုင်းရေး၍။ ရေးနည်းအညွှန်းများပါ။ ထုတ်ဆောင် ပြဆိုအံ့သတည်း” ဟုကျမ်းဦးပဏာမစကား။ ရေးသားပါရှိရာ၌။

၁ အချက်။ ။မြန်မာတို့ လိုက်နာနည်း ယူလာခဲ့ကြသော ပါဠိဘာသာမည်သည့်စာမျိုး။ နည်းနာနာ။ ကျနမုန်ကန်စွာ ရေးသားထားသော မည်သည့် မြန်မာဘာသာ စာမျိုးတို့၌ မဆို။ “လောက သုံးဖြာ (ပါး) တို့တွင်” ဟုမဟုတ်ရေးရိုး မရှိဖြစ်သည်။ ထိုစကားထင်ရှားစေဦးအံ့။ ပါဠိဘာသာ၌ “တိလောက” ဟူသောပုဒ်သမာသ်ပြီးသောအခါ။ နပုံကောင့်၍။ ကောဝရိဘက်ဆုံးရေမြစ်သဖြင့်။ “တိလောက” ဟူ၍သာ ရှိသည်။ အာဇာရသတ္တမီအရာ၌လည်း။ တိသင်္ချာသဒ္ဒါနှင့် သမာသ်တွဲက။ “တိလောကေသု” ဟု မဟုတ်နှင့်မရှိဘဲ။ “တိလောကေ” ဟူ၍ ကောဝရိနှင့်သာ ရှိရခြင်းဖြစ်သည်။ သို့ရှိသည့် ပါဠိသဒ္ဒါနည်းကို လိုက်၍။ မြန်မာဘာသာ၌လည်း။ “လောကသုံးဖြာ (ပါး) ၌ (တွင်) ဟူ၍သာ။ ပညာရှိအဆက်ဆက် ရေးသား သုံးစွဲကြလေသည်။ ပါဠိဘာသာ။ အင်္ဂလိပ်ဘာသာစသည်တို့ကိုသို့။ မြန်မာဘာသာ၌။ ရှေးအခါက။ မြန်မာသဒ္ဒါသက်သက် လုံလောက်စွာမရှိ။ ရှိတန်သမျှ ရှိသော်လည်း။ သို့ရှိသည့်အရာကို။ များစွာသင်ကြား။ အထင်အ

ရှားလိုက်နာ ပြုလုပ်ကြသည်မဟုတ်။ စာရေး စာချို။ မင်းမှီစိုးကပ်။ ပျပ်ဝပ်ခိုဝင်။ ပညာရှိ အမတ်ကြီးများပင်လည်း။ ပါဠိဘာသာ သဒ္ဒါကြီး သဒ္ဒါငယ်။ အသွယ်သွယ်ကို နေဝါ။ မြန်မာလို ရေးထားသော ပုဒ်ဆစ် သဒ္ဒါဆစ်စသည်ကို ညှပ်ပြုလုပ်။ သဒ္ဒါနည်းကို မိမိရသင်ကြားအားထုတ်ပြီးမှ။ ဆိုင်ရာဆိုင်ရာဗဟုသုတပညာကို။ ရှာမှီးဆီးပူး ကြရကြောင်း။ ပသင်္ဂဝိသောဓနီ သတ်ညွှန်းဆရာလောကပင် မသိမမှီလိုက်ကြသော်လည်း။ သိမှီတန်သမျှ သိမှီအားထုတ်ဘူးကြသဖြင့်။ ပါဠိသဒ္ဒါကျမ်းစုကိုသာ အမှီပြုရကြောင်း ယခုတိုင်ထင်ရှားပါ၍။ များစွာထုတ်တော်ပြဆိုရန် မလိုပဲ။ ဤပသင်္ဂကျမ်းဆရာသည်။ ရှေးရှေးဆရာ။ ပညာရှိတို့နှုန်း။ ထုံးမှန်စံရ။ အရိုးကျတံတွာ။ ဓမ္မတာသဒ္ဒါနည်းကိုပစ်ပယ်။ ဘယ်နန်း ဘယ်ထီး။ ဘယ်လွှတ်တော်ကြီးကနည်းဟူ၍ မထင်သာ။ ပဏာမအရာမှာ။ “လောကသုံးဖြာတို့တွင်” ဟု။ မျက်မြင်သင်္ချာ အရေအတွက်ကိုသာဘမ်း၍။ နည်းလမ်းမဲ့ဗဟုဝတ်ရေးမှားသော။ ရှေးဖျားမဆွ။ ချွတ်ချော်လှသည့် ပဌမခလိတအချက်။

၂ အချက်။ ။ပဏာမစကား ရှေ့ဝါကျတခုလုံး၏ ပိဏ္ဏတ္တအဓိပ္ပါယ်ကို ဆိုလျှင်။ “လောကသုံးဖြာတွင်။ လူနတ်ဗြဟ္မာ။ သတ္တဝါမည်သူနှင့်မျှ မတန်မရာ။ လွန်စွာထက်မြက်သော အက္ခရကောသလ ဉာဏ်တော်ဖြင့် ခွဲခြမ်းဝေဘန် သိမြင်တော်မူသည်” ဤမျှဂုဏ်တော် တပါးတည်းကိုသာရရှိသင့်သည်ဖြစ်ပါလျက်။ ဝှစ်အချက်မသင့်။ “တို့နှင့်တကွ” ဟု။ ဗဟုဝတ်လက္ခဏာစကား။ ရေးမှားပြဆိုမိသည့်။ ဒုတိယခလိတအချက်။

၃ အချက်။ ။“ဝေဘန်ပိုင်းခြားတော်မူခြင်းနှင့်တကွ” ဟူသောစကားသည် သဟာဒိယောဂဟူ၍ ၎င်း။ သမဝါယဟူ၍၎င်း ခေါ်ဝေါ်အပ်သောစကားမျိုးဖြစ်သည်။ ၎င်းသမဝါယအနက်ပြ “တကွ” ဟူသောစကားကို ဂုဏ်ဟောပုဒ်မှာ စပ်ရလျှင် ဂုဏသမဝါယ။ ခြိမိဟောပုဒ်မှာ စပ်ရလျှင် ဒဗ္ဗ သမဝါယ။ ကြိယာဟောပုဒ်မှာစပ်ရလျှင် ကြိယာသမဝါယဟူ၍ ကျမ်းဂန်တို့မှာ သမဝါယ သုံးမျိုးခွဲ၍ ပြဆိုတော် မူကြသည်။ ယခုပသင်္ဂကျမ်းလာ “တကွ” ဟူသောစကားမှာကား စပ်ရာပုဒ်မရှိဖြစ်သည်။ “သဗ္ဗဓမ္မ” ဟူသော စကားတွင် စပ်မည်ဟူ၍၎င်း။ “ဝေဘန်ပိုင်းခြားတော်မူတတ်သော” ဟူသော စကားတွင် စပ်မည်ဟူ၍၎င်း အရမ်းလည်းမဆိုသင့်။ အကြောင်းမူကား။ အကယ်၍ “သဗ္ဗဓမ္မ” တွင်စပ်ခဲ့ပါလျှင်။ ၎င်း “သဗ္ဗဓမ္မ” သည် ကံပုဒ်ဖြစ်သကဲ့သို့။ “ဝေဘန်ပိုင်းခြားတော်မူနိုင်ခြင်း” သည်လည်း ကံပုဒ်ပင် ဖြစ်ရမည် ဖြစ်၍။ “ဝေဘန်ပိုင်းခြားတော်မူနိုင်ခြင်းကိုလည်း ဝေဘန်ပိုင်းခြားတော်မူတတ်သည်။ သဗ္ဗဓမ္မကိုလည်း ဝေဘန်ပိုင်းခြားတော်မူတတ်သည်” ဟူသောအဓိပ္ပါယ် ရောက်မည်ဖြစ်သည်။ ယင်းသို့ရောက်သော အဓိပ္ပါယ်သည်လည်း။ စင်စစ် မှားယွင်းချွတ်ချော်သည့် အဓိပ္ပါယ်မျိုးသာ ဖြစ်လေသည်။ ။“ဝေဘန်ပိုင်းခြားတော် မူတတ်သော” ဟူသောစကားမှာစပ်လျှင်။ “ဝေဘန်ပိုင်းခြားတော်မူနိုင်ခြင်းနှင့်တကွ။ ဝေဘန်ပိုင်းခြားတော်မူတတ်သည်” ဟူ၍သာ ပညာရှိတို့နားမှာ မကြားသာအောင်။ များစွာမှားယွင်းချွတ်ချော်သည့် အနက်အဓိပ္ပါယ်မျိုးသာ ရရှိမည်ဖြစ်သည်။ ၎င်းနှစ်ပုဒ်မှတစ်ပါး။ အခြားပုဒ်များမှာ စပ်ခဲ့ပြန်လိုလျှင်လည်း။ “အရှင်ကြီး။ ကျားထက်ဆိုး” ဆိုသကဲ့သို့။ ပိုမိုဆိုးဝါး။ မှားသည်ထက်မှားယွင်းချွတ်ချော်မည်သာဖြစ်၍။ ၎င်း “တကွ” ဟူသောပုဒ် စပ်ရာမရှိဟူ၍ သာဆိုထိုက်လေသည်။ ဤသို့ပယ်ရှား စွန့်ပစ်အပ်။ အစပ်အဓိပ္ပါယ် မရှိသောစကား။ ရေးသား ပြဆိုမိသည့်။ တတိယခလိတအချက်။

၄ အချက်။ ။၃ အချက်မှာ ပြခဲ့ပြီးသည့်အတိုင်း။ “တကွ” ဟူသောစကား၏ စပ်ရာမရှိ ဖြစ်ရခြင်း အကြောင်းကား။ သမဝါယ မဖြစ်သင့်သောအရာမှာ။ သမဝါယသဒ္ဒါစကားမျိုး သုံးစွဲခြင်းကြောင့်ပင်တည်း။ ထင်ရှားစေဦးအံ့။ သမဝါယဟူသည် “ပုတ္တေနသဟာထုလောပိတာ” စသောဥဒါဟရုဏ်များမှာကဲ့သို့။ ခြိမိချင်းချင်းဖြစ်စေ။ သို့မဟုတ် ဂုဏ်ချင်းချင်းဖြစ်စေ။ သဘောတူသော အနက်နှစ်ခုတို့၏ဂုဏ်အားဖြင့်သော်၎င်း။ ခြိမိအားဖြင့်သော်၎င်း။ ကြိယာအားဖြင့်သော်၎င်း ညီညွတ်ခြင်းပင်ဖြစ်သတည်း။ ဤအရာမှာ။ “ဝေဘန် ပိုင်းခြားတော်မူနိုင်ခြင်း” ဟူသည် ဉာဏ်တရား။ “သဗ္ဗဓမ္မ” ဟူသည် ဧယျတရား ဖြစ်သည်။ ဤသို့ ဉာဏ်နှင့် ဧယျသဘောမတူကြသော တရားတို့၏ ညီညွတ်ခြင်း သမဝါယအနက် မဖြစ်ကောင်း။ “အက္ခရပုဒ်တို့နှင့်တကွ။ ကြွင်းသော ဧယျတရားတို့ကို တစမကျန်။ ဝေဘန် ပိုင်းခြားတော် မူနိုင်သော” ဟူ၍ ရေးသား ပြဆိုခဲ့ပါလျှင်။ ဧယျတရားချင်းဖြစ်၍။ သမဝါယအနက် ဖြစ်သင့်သည်။ “အက္ခရကောသလ ဉာဏ်နှင့် တကွ။ ကြွင်းသော ဉာဏ်တော်ဟူသမျှကို ရရှိတော်မူသော” ဟူ၍ဆိုခဲ့ပါလျှင်လည်း။ ဉာဏ်တော်ချင်းချင်းဖြစ်၍။ သမဝါယအနက် ဖြစ်သင့်လေသည်။ ။“သဗ္ဗဓမ္မ” ပုဒ်မှာ မစပ်ဘဲ။ “ဝေဘန်ပိုင်းခြားတော်မူတတ်သော”

ဟူသောစကားမှာ စင်ခွဲလျှင်လည်း။ “ဝေဘန်ပိုင်းခြားတော် မူနိုင်ခြင်း” ဟူသည်ကား ဉာဏ်တော်။ “ဝေဘန်ပိုင်းခြားတော် မူတတ်သော” ဟူသည်ကား ခြံမိတော်။ သို့မဟုတ် ကတ္တုသတ္တိတော် ဖြစ်၍၊ ဉာဏ်နှင့် ခြံမိသတ္တိ။ သဘောတူခြင်းမရှိသော တရားတို့၏ ညီညွတ်ခြင်း သမဝါယ အနက်မဖြစ်ကောင်း။ ဤသို့ သမဝါယမဖြစ်ကောင်းသော တရားစင်စစ် မှန်ပါလျက်။ ယင်းမှားချွတ်ချော်၊ မလျော်သော သမဝါယစကား။ ရေးသားပြဆိုမိသည့် စတုတ္ထခလိတအချက်။

၅ အချက်။ ။ “သဗ္ဗဓမ္မ” ဟူသောစကားတွင် အက္ခရာပုဒ်ပါဝင်ပြီး ဖြစ်သောကြောင့်။ “သဗ္ဗဓမ္မ” တစမကျန်။ ဝေဘန်ပိုင်းခြားတော်မူနိုင်သည်” ဟူသော အနက်အဓိပ္ပါယ် ပြီးစီးပြီးဖြစ်သည်။ ယင်းသို့ ပြီးစီးပြီးဖြစ်ပါလျက် သီးခြားရှေ့က ဘော်ပြု၍။ “အက္ခရာကောသလ္လဉာဏ်။ ဝေဘန်ပိုင်းခြားတော် မူနိုင်ခြင်းတို့နှင့် တကွ” ဟုရေးသားလိုက်ခြင်းသည် နိရတ္တကဒေါသသင့်၏။ ။ ကျမ်းပြုဆရာတို့၏သဘောသည် ပြုလတ္တံ့သောကျမ်းအားလျော်စွာ ဘုရားဂုဏ်တော်ကို ချီးမွမ်းထုတ်ဆိုမြဲ ဖြစ်သည်အရ။ ဤသတ်ညွှန်း ကျမ်းသည်လည်း အက္ခရာတို့ကို ဝေဘန်ပိုင်းခြားရာ ကျမ်းဖြစ်၍။ ကျမ်းအား လျော်စွာ “အက္ခရာကောသလ္လဉာဏ်” စသောစကားကို ဦးစွာထုတ်ဆို ရေးသားပါသည်ဟူ၍ စကားဆင်ခြေဝင်သော် ဝင်ရာ၏။ ယင်းသို့လည်း အရမ်းမဝင်သင့်။ အကြောင်းမူကား။ အကယ်၍ရေးသားလတ္တံ့သောကျမ်းအားလျော်စွာ ဂုဏ်တော်ကိုထုတ်ဘော်လိုခဲ့သည်ဖြစ်အံ့။ “အက္ခရာပုဒ်တို့နှင့်တကွ။ ကြွင်းကျန်သောဥပယု။ တစမကျန်” စသည်ဖြင့်သာ။ ဆိုခဲ့ပြီးအက္ခရာပုဒ်တို့ကိုချန်၍။ ကျန်ဥပယုဓမ္မစုကိုသာ အလုံးစုံသိမ်းကျုံးကာ ပြဆိုရာသည်။ ယခုမှာမူ။ ထိုကဲ့သို့မပြဘဲ။ “အက္ခရာကောသလ္လဉာဏ်” စသည်ဖြင့်။ ကျမ်းအားလျော်စွာ ထောမနာပြီးနောက်။ “သဗ္ဗဓမ္မ” ဟု အလုံးစုံ သိမ်းကျုံးပြန်သောကြောင့်။ နိရတ္တကဒေါသမှ မလွတ်မကင်းနိုင်ချေ။ ဤကဲ့သို့ ဘယ်နည်းနှင့်မျှ အပြစ်ဒေါသ မလွတ်မကင်းသောစကား။ ရေးသားချွတ်ချော်လှသည်။ ပဉ္စမခလိတအချက်။

၆ အချက်။ ။ ရှေးအခါမှစ၍ ယခုသမယထိ။ ပညာရှိအဆက်ဆက်။ နှစ်သက်ရေးယူ။ ဂရုမူကြသည့် ပါဠိအဋ္ဌကထာ။ ဋီကာအာနု။ မရယောဇနာ။ အဖြာဖြာသော ဂဠုန္တရ ကျမ်းဂန်ကြီးငယ်အမျိုးမျိုး။ ရှေးရှေးစဉ်လာ။ ဆရာတို့လက်သုံး။ ထုံးနည်းနယ။ ကျနစွာရေးသားပြုစုခဲ့ကြသည့် လောကီလောကုတ္တရာ။ မြန်မာစာစောင်ကြီးငယ်အမျိုးမျိုးတို့မှာ။ “ဓမ္မဉ္စ။ တရားတော်မြတ်ကိုဝင်း” “သံဃဉ္စ။ သဗ္ဗာတော်မြတ်ကိုဝင်း” ဟုပဏာမစကား၌။ ဧကဝုဏ်အဆုံးထား၍။ ရေးသားခြံအစဉ်အလာ။ သဒ္ဒါနည်းရေးထုံးကို။ လုံးလုံးကြီး ပယ်ပယ်၍။ “တရားတော်မြတ်တို့ကိုဝင်း” “သဗ္ဗာတော်မြတ်တို့ကိုဝင်း” ဟုဗဟုဝုဏ်လက္ခဏာနှင့်။ သင်္ချာအရေအတွက်ကိုသာကြည့်၍။ ထင်မိထင်ရာ။ နည်းနာမရှိ။ ရေးမှားမိသည့် ဆဋ္ဌခလိတအချက်။

၇ အချက်။ ။ ထိုသတ်ညွှန်းဆရာသည်။ ၆ အချက်ပါဗဟုဝုဏ်စကား။ စင်စစ်အမှားစုကို။ အမှန်ဟု သဘောထား၍။ ရေးသားလိုက်မိရာ။ ထိုဆရာသဘောအတိုင်းပင်အမှန်ထားဦးတော်၌။ အခြားမှားယွင်းချက် မလွတ်သေးချေ။ တုလျာမိကရဏဝိသေသနဟူသည် ဝိသေသယပုဒ်နှင့် လိင်ဝုဏ်အရ တူရမြဲဖြစ်သည်အရ။ ရှေးထုံးစံမူ။ သဒ္ဒါနည်းကျစွာ။ ရှေးဆန်ဆန် အမှန်ကြီးကိုသာရေးလိုပါလျှင် “တရားတော်မြတ်တို့ကိုဝင်း” “သဗ္ဗာတော်မြတ်တို့ကိုဝင်း” ဟူသောဝိသေသယပုဒ်စုကို။ ဗဟုဝုဏ်နှင့် ရေးထားသည့်အတိုင်း။ ဝင်းတို့၏ ဝိသေသနပုဒ်စုကိုလည်း။ “ဆယ်ပါးကုန်သော” “ရှစ်ပါးကုန်သော” ဟု ဗဟုဝုဏ်နှင့်ပင် ရေးသင့်သည် မဟုတ်ပါလော။ “ဆယ်ပါးသော” “ရှစ်ပါးသော” ဟု သဘော မမိ။ ထုံးမရှိ စကား။ ရေးသားလိုက်သည့်။ သတ္တမခလိတအချက်။

၈ အချက်။ ။ ပါဠိဘာသာ မကျွမ်းကျင်ပါ၍။ မြန်မာဘာသာသက်သက်ဖြင့်သာ ရှိခိုးခြင်းပဏာမ ပြလိုခဲ့ပါလျှင်။ ရှိခိုးခြင်းကြိယာ ထင်ရှားရစကောင်းသည့် “ရှိခိုးပူဇော်ပါ၏” ဟူသောပစ္စုပ္ပန်ကြိယာစကားကို ရေးသားပြီးမှ။ “ရှိခိုးပူဇော်ပြီး၍” စသော နောက်စကားကို ဆက်ရာသည်။ ပဏာမဟူသည်လည်း ရှိခိုးခြင်းကြိယာ ထင်ရှားရှိသည့်အခိုက်မှာသာလျှင် ဖြစ်သင့်လေသည်။ ယခုပသင်ဆရာ၏ ပဏာမစကားမှာ။ ရှိခိုးခြင်းကြိယာ ထင်ရှားရစကောင်းသော ပစ္စုပ္ပန်ကြိယာစကား မပါသောကြောင့်။ ၎င်း “လောကသုံးခြာတို့တွင်” စသောစကားရပ်သည် ပဏာမစကား မဖြစ်ထိုက်ချေ။

ယင်းသို့မဖြစ်ထိုက်လျှင်။ အစက “ပဏာမ” ဟုအမည်ခေါင်းကြီး တပ်ထားသည့် မိမိစကားနှင့်ပင် ဆန့်ကျင်ခြင်း။ ကျမ်းရေးဆရာတို့ ပြဆိုရမြဲဖြစ်သော ပုဗ္ဗပာကတရား ငါးပါးမပြည့်စုံခြင်းဟူသော အပြစ်ဒေါ

သတို့ရောက်ကုန်၏။ ဆိုခဲ့သည့်အတိုင်းမှန်လျှင်။ ပဏာမဟူက။ ပစ္စုပ္ပန် အတိတ်အာစာဖြင့် ရှိခိုးခြင်းကြိယာနှစ် ချက်ပါရမည်ဟူသော အဓိပ္ပါယ်ရောက်၏။ အဋ္ဌကထာ။ ဋီကာကျမ်းဂန် ပဏာမစကားတို့မှာလည်း။ အဘိ ဝန့်ဃ။ နမသိတွာ။ နတွာ စသည်ဖြင့်။ ကြိယာတချက်စီသာ ပါသည်မဟုတ်ပါလောဟု မေးရန်ရှိ၏။ ကျမ်း ဂန်လာ ပဏာမစကားတို့မှာ။ ကြိယာတချက်စီသာ ပါသည်ကားမှန်၏။ သို့သော်လည်း။ ၎င်းကျမ်းဂန်လာ ပဏာမတို့မှာ။ တွာပစ္စည်းအဆုံးရှိသောပုဒ်များ ဖြစ်ကြ၏။ ၎င်းတွာပစ္စည်းသည်လည်း။ ပစ္စုပ္ပန်အနက်။ အ တိတ်အနက် နှစ်မျိုးလုံးမှာပင် ဖြစ်ကောင်းသဖြင့်။ ပစ္စုပ္ပန်အနက်တချက်။ အတိတ်အနက်တချက် ခွဲဝေ၍ ယူ ရကြောင်း။ ဋီကာအစောင်စောင်။ နိဿယ အစောင်စောင်တို့မှာ အထင်အရှား။ ရေးသားဆုံးဖြတ်ပြီး ဖြစ် လေသည်။

သို့ဖြစ်လျှင်။ ဤပထဝီကျမ်းလာ “ရှိခိုးပူဇော်ပြီး၍” ဟူသောကြိယာစကားတချက်ကိုလည်း ပစ္စုပ္ပန် အတိတ်နှစ်စားခွဲ၍မယူနိုင်ပါလောဟုမေးရန်ရှိပြန်၏။ စင်စစ်အတိတ်အနက်ကိုပြတတ်သည့် “ပြီး” ဟူသော စကားမပါဘဲ။ “ရှိခိုးပူဇော်၍” ဟူသော သာမညစကားမျက်သာ ဆိုခဲ့ပါလျှင်။ ကြိယာနှစ် အရှက်ပြေယူ သော် ယူနိုင်ရာသည်။ ယခုမှာ “ရှိခိုးပူဇော်ပြီး၍” ဟု “ပြီး” သဒ္ဒါနှင့်တကွ အသေအချာ ပြဆိုလျက်ရှိသော ကြောင့်။ ပစ္စုပ္ပန်အနက် ဆွဲငင်ယူနိုင်ရန် နည်းလမ်းမရှိပြီ။ သို့ဖြစ်၍ “ပဏာမ” ဟုအမည်ခေါင်းတင်ပါလျက်။ ပဏာမ မမြောက်ထိုက်သောစကား။ ပုဗ္ဗပဉ္စက မပြည့်စုံသောစကား။ အမှားမှားကို။ ရေးသားလိုက်မိသည့် အဋ္ဌမခလိတအချက်။

၉ အချက်။ ။ “အက္ခရာစဉ်အတိုင်း ရေး၍။ ရေးနည်း အညွှန်း များပါ။ ထုတ်ဆောင် ပြဆိုအံ့သ တည်း” ဟူသောစကားရပ်၌ “ရေး၍” ဟူသောစကားသည်အမှားစင်စစ်သာဖြစ်သည်။ အကြောင်းမူကား။ ကျမ်းဂန်ပြုစုစီရင်သောအရာမှာ “ရေးခြင်း” နှင့် “ပြဆိုခြင်း” သည် အတူတူပင်ဖြစ်၍။ “ရေးသည်” ကိုပင် “ပြဆိုသည်” ဟုခေါ်ရလေသည်။ ဤသို့အခေါ်အဝေါ်သာကွဲပြား၍။ သဘောသွားမထူးခြားသော ကြိယာ တခုတည်းကို။ ပုဗ္ဗကာလကြိယာ။ အပရကာလကြိယာ နှစ်မျိုးခွဲခြား၍ မဆိုကောင်း။ ကြိယာ ကွဲပြားရာမှာ ကား။ “ရှိခိုးပြီး၍ ပြဆိုပေအံ့” “ထမင်းစားပြီး၍ ရေသောက်ပေအံ့” စသည်ဖြင့် ဆိုကောင်းသည်။ ယခုမှာ “ရှိခိုးပြီး၍ ရှိခိုးပေအံ့” “ထမင်းစားပြီး၍ ထမင်းစားပေအံ့” ဟုဆိုမှားသောစကားကဲ့သို့။ ကြိယာတခုတည်း ကိုပင် နှစ်ခုဖြစ်သည်အထင်နှင့် “ရေး၍ပြဆိုအံ့သတည်း” ဟု အရပ်သားစကား။ အချွတ်ချွတ် အမှားမှား။ ရေးသားပြဆိုသည့် နဝမခလိတအချက်။ ။ပထဝီသောဓနိသတ်ညွှန်းကျမ်း။ စာကြောင်းရေ ၉ ကြောင်း မျှရှိသော ကျမ်းဦးပဏာမစကား။ ယွင်းမှားချွတ်ချော်ပါရှိချက်ကို ထုတ်ပြသည့်ခလိတ ၉ ချက်ကားပြီး၏။

ဆရာဘေ။

ပညာဝန်ကြီးရုံး။
ရန်ကုန်မြို့။

MANUAL OF A MYSTIC.

*Translated for the Pali Text Society by F. L. Woodward and
edited by Mrs. Rhys Davids.*

This is a translation from the Pali and Sinhalese of the Yogāvacāra's Manual, a 'unique Ms.' in the sense that it is "the only copy we have heard of" relating to Indian Mysticism as practised by Buddhists. The Buddhist literature, whether in Pali or Sanscrit, possesses no other work on the sub-ject, though it should be noted that the system of meditation as an ethical self-culture has long been known in India and is pre-Buddhist. The Pali Dialogues indeed contain references of sages practising the eight Attain-ments or other stages of ecstatic trance, and the Buddha himself spent six years under his teachers Ālāra and Uddaka in the practice of religious austerities. But it is clear that in such passages the system of mysticism

has been taken for granted. The Yoga books describing details of Brahmin mysticism are younger than the Dialogues. The actual method of procedure in the practices described in the present book is later than the Piṭakas and even Buddhaghosa, as shown by the amplitude of the details and the elaborate technical terms.

The manual consists of meditation of the five-fold Zest or Rapture, of the six pairs or words, on Happiness, Breathing Exercise for mental clarity, Exercise by Devices, meditation on the Ten Foul things, on the Bodily parts, on the Ten Recollections, on the Immaterial Realms, on the Four Highest States and on the Ten Forms of knowledge. Unknown to the Pali Piṭaka or Buddhaghosa and special to the manual are "the elaboration of the Yoga-methods of pseudo-physical *localization* of ideas; the colour-images of subjective origin contained in the Singhalese descriptive paragraphs; most of the sub-divisions, such as span, aggregate of elements, heart, wax-taper business etc. grouped under each of the first three meditations." The system of meditation is thus peculiar to the Indians to a large extent. The mysticism of it lies in the inducement of abnormal, ecstatic consciousness called Jhāna and samādhi. Of these, Jhāna is not essential to the orthodox doctrine, whereas samādhi, in its psychological import, is the very keystone of the Buddhist mind-culture. That is the reason why the Jhāna practice is dying out in Ceylon and Burma. Indeed, according to the translator, the last person in Ceylon to practise the Manual went mad, the system being so intricate that the teacher must be able to see exactly the effect that is exercised by each meditation on the pupil.

Neither the date nor the authorship of the Manual is known. But according to Mr. Jayatilaka it must have been composed in the eighteenth century having been written down very probably under the instruction of the Siamese monks, who were sent to re-establish the Upasampadā ordination in Ceylon in her spiritual decadence.

—Editor.

REPORT OF THE SUPERINTENDENT, ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY, BURMA 1917.

The Report, which is the joint-work of Messrs. Taw Sein Ko and Duroiselle, is pregnant with far-reaching results. Time only can show whether these results will be established or not. For the present, these two scholars have given sound reasons for departing from the beaten track of historical and linguistic tradition and have formulated new theories. Some of these are the explosion of the old theory of the indebtedness of the Burmans to the Talains for their letters and religion in the face of the new theory, put forward by Mr. Taw Sein Ko that both these nations received their civilization from the Pyus, whose descendants "are still to be found in the Hmawza Township of the Prome District and in the Pagan sub-division of the Myingyan District" and "who possessed a much older system of refinement, culture, and civilization." A suggestion of the derivation of

Prome is made on the strength of Prof. Rapson's identification of *Irāvātī* with the modern *Rāvi*, which supports the ancient connection between Burma and the Panjab, as seen in the origin of the Saka era. The *forte* of Mr. Taw Sein Ko's arguments lies in proving the Chinese influence on Pagan architecture and the Burmese religion on the strength of certain architectural features in the Ānanda Temple, the use of the pointed arch in the Cave Temple of Kyanzittha and the efforts of China to evangelize Pagan on the occasion of the Chinese conquest of Burma in the thirteenth century. Mr. Taw Sein Ko quite naturally, has implicit faith in the Chinese Records: He writes on page 34: "Comparative researches into Chinese history and antiquities, hitherto an unknown field of study, would yield a flood of light on the glimmering periods of Burmese history antedating the XIth century A. D." The next sentence is written by Mr. Duroiselle and runs as follows: "Practically nothing authentic or definite is known of the religious history of Burma from the earliest times up to the middle of the XIth century A. D. Chinese records are silent on this point and the little they tell us does not bring much enlightenment." One wavers between the two authorities.

Mr. Duroiselle's articles are of absorbing interest. They are mostly of a philological nature, the author being engaged in a systematic study of the Talaing language. A course of *Etudes* is appearing in the *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient* and a dictionary is under preparation. We give all encouragement to Mr. Duroiselle in this pioneer work. It may interest him to know that the present reviewer in his capacity as Honorary Librarian of the Bernard Free Library has prepared, with the assistance of U Thilawuntha of Moulmein, an edition of the Talaing Temi Jātaka, collated from different Mss. Some of Mr. Duroiselle's philological specimens are *Talapoin*, *Sārāvātī-sārāwaw* and *Thalyin*. Of more importance is the rectification of some historical dates in the light of inscriptions. Mention should also be made of Mr. Taw Sein Ko's two booklets on Mandalay and Pagan for the use of tourists and containing valuable archaeological Note and historical summaries.

—Editor.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

RECEIVED SINCE AUGUST 1917, Vol. VII, Part II:

1. **Journal of the East India Association**, July and October, 1917.
2. **Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma**, for the year ending 31st March 1917.
3. **Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Frontier Circle**, for 1916-17.
4. **Annual Report on Epigraphy**, for the year ending 31st March 1917. (Southern Circle, Madras.)
5. **Journal of the Punjab Historical Society**, Vol. VI, No. 2, pp. 69-167.
6. **Catalogue Raisonné of the Pre-historic Antiquities in the Indian Museum at Calcutta**, by J. C. Brown.
7. **Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Southern Circle, Madras**, 1916-17.
8. **Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution**, [1917.]
9. **The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland**, Vol. XLVI. January to June, July to December 1916; and Vol. XLVII. January to June 1917.
10. **The Indian Antiquary**, March and May and June 1917.

Note:—The list of members will be published in April 1918.

—*Editor.*

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

Minutes of a meeting of the Sub-Committee at Rangoon College on Monday 13th August at 8 a. m.

PRESENT.

M. Munter, Esqr., C. I. E., (President).
J. T. Best, Esqr.
Prof. Maung Tin.
U May Oung.
Prof. Fraser, (Hon. Secretary).

1. The minutes of the last meeting were confirmed.
2. The Honorary Treasurer's report was approved.

RESOLVED—

- (a) that the attention of senders of Post Office Certificates for Rs. 150/- for Life Membership be drawn to the fact that Rs. 150/- does not represent the present value of the Certificates which is Rs. 77/8 per Rs. 100/- face value;
- (b) That a further reminder should presently be sent to members residing in Burma who have not yet paid up arrears for 1916 and 1917.
3. RESOLVED that the next Ordinary Meeting of the Society be held on 30th August at Rangoon College at 5-30 p. m. and that Mr. Furnivall's paper "Samuel White" should then be read.

W. G. FRASER,
Honorary Secretary.

Ordinary Meeting.

An ordinary meeting of the Society was held at Rangoon College on 30th August 1917. M. Hunter, Esquire, C. I. E., President, in the Chair. The following were present:—Messrs. J. J. Nolan, A. Khalat, R. G. McDowall, J. T. Best, A. E. Bellars, Dr. D. C. Gilmore, L. F. Taylor, U Kyaw Dun, F. L. F. Boedicker, Saya Thein, W. G. Fraser, Prof. Maung Tin and Major J. H. Sewell. The Honorary Secretary read a paper by Mr. J. S. Furnivall, Vice-President, entitled "Samuel White, Port Officer of Mergui" (published in the present number). After the paper was read, the subject was thrown open to discussion. Mr. J. J. Nolan suggested that it would have been of interest if Mr. Furnivall had given information about the places of Samuel White's birth and death, as to whether his petition was ultimately granted or not, and about the writer's own sources of information. The Chairman expressed the thanks of the Society to Mr. Furnivall for a very interesting paper on a rather out-of-the-way subject. Before closing the meeting the Chairman intimated that a large amount of arrears had been recovered and that Rs. 5100 of the Society's funds were invested in the War Loan.

W. G. FRASER,
Hon. Secretary.

Mr. Taw Sein Ko proposed that Rev. R. Halliday, Bangkok, should be elected an Honorary Member of the Society. This was submitted to the Committee by circular and by a majority it was decided that Rev. Halliday should be elected a Corresponding Member on the same status as Mr. C. O. Blagden. It was decided at the same time that the Bhikkhu Ananda Metteyya should receive the Journal free of charge.

1st September, 1917.

Minutes of a meeting of the Committee at Rangoon College on Wednesday 12th September at 8-30 a. m.

PRESENT.

M. Hunter, Esqr., C. I. E. (President).
J. T. Best, Esqr.
W. G. Fraser, Esqr.
U May Oung.

1. The minutes of the last meeting were confirmed.
2. Considered a letter from Mr. Furnivall proposing to offer prizes for Burmese marching songs, and enclosing a draft letter to the newspapers announcing the competition and its conditions.

RESOLVED that the proposal be accepted. The draft letter to newspapers was approved.

W. G. FRASER,
Honorary Secretary,
Burma Research Society,
12th September, 1917.

Minutes of a meeting of the Sub-Committee at Rangoon College on Wednesday 12th September, 1917.

PRESENT.

M. Hunter, Esquire, C. I. E., (in the Chair).
J. T. Best, Esqr.
W. G. Fraser, Esqr.
U May Oung.

1. The minutes of the last meeting were confirmed.
2. The following new members were elected:—
B. M. Jones, Esqr., 27, Creek Street, East Rangoon.
Htoon Chan, Esqr., Advocate, Akyab.
Maung Kun, Esqr., Bar.-at-Law, 70, Phayre Street, Rangoon.

W. G. FRASER,
Honorary Secretary,
12th September, 1917.

Minutes of a meeting of the Sub-Committee at Rangoon College on 12th November, 1917, at 8 a. m.

PRESENT.

M. Hunter, Esquire, C. I. E.
A. P. Morris, Esqr., (by invitation).
Prof. Fraser, (Hon. Secretary).
Prof. Maung Tin.

1. The minutes of the last meeting were confirmed.
2. A scheme for lectures at the Arts and Crafts Exhibition was considered.

RESOLVED that the following proposals be submitted to the Committee:—

- (1) The lectures should be delivered in the side room of the Jubilee Hall, capable of accommodating 150 persons.
- (2) The time for each lecture should be from 6-30 to 7-30 p. m.
- (3) No charge should be made for admission.
- (4) There should be no discussion after the lectures.
- (5) Four lectures should be given one on each of the four days, January 22nd to January 25th 1918—two in English and two in Burmese.
- (6) The following should be lecturers for each day:—
 - a. Mr. J. S. Furnivall, (Ars and Crafts).
 - b. Saya Pwa, (in Burmese).
 - c. Mr. A. P. Morris, "Pottery" (in English).
 - d. Saya Thein, (in Burmese).
- (7) The President should preside at the first lecture. U May Oung should be asked to preside at the second lecture, Mr. Arbuthnot to preside at the third, and Mr. Justice Maung Kin at the fourth.
3. The Honorary Secretary was instructed to approach Saya Pwa and Saya Thein to find out if they were willing to lecture, and if so, on what subjects.
4. The following new members were elected:—

Prof. W. Douglas, Rangoon College,
Mr. Kyaw San Hla, Kyauktaw,
Proposed by the Hon: Editor, seconded by Hon: Secretary.

Rangoon the 13th November, 1917.

W. G. FRASER,
Hon: Secretary.

Meeting of the Committee at Rangoon College on Monday December, 3rd 1917, at 8 a. m.

PRESENT.

M. Hunter, Esqr., C. I. E., (President).
J. T. Best, Esqr.
Rev. J. A. Drysdale.
A. P. Morris, Esqr.
L. F. Taylor, Esqr.
Prof. Maung Tin.
Prof. W. G. Fraser.

1. The minutes of last meeting were confirmed.
2. Approved the Sub-Committee's scheme for lectures at Arts and Crafts Exhibition, as follows:—
 - (1) The lectures should be delivered in the side room of the Jubilee Hall, capable of accommodating 150 persons.
 - (2) The time for each lecture should be from 6-30 to 7-30 p. m.
 - (3) No charge should be made for admission.
 - (4) There should be no discussion after the lectures.
 - (5) Four lectures should be given one on each of the four days, January 22nd to January 25th 1918—two in English and two in Burmese.
 - (6) The following should be lecturers for each day:—
 - a. Mr. J. S. Furnivall, "Arts and Crafts" (in English).
 - b. Saya Pwa, (in Burmese).
 - c. Mr. A. P. Morris, "Pottery" (in English).
 - d. Saya Thein, (in Burmese).
 - (7) The President should preside at the first lecture. U May Oung should be asked to preside at the second lecture, Mr. Arbuthnot to preside at the third, and Mr. Justice Maung Kin at the fourth.
3. Resolved that the lectures should be printed in the Society's Journal.
4. Read a letter from Rev. Halliday, Siam, expressing his pleasure on being elected a Corresponding Member of the Society.

Rangoon the 4th December, 1917.

W. G. FRASER,
Honorary Secretary.



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